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AN INTRODUCTION

TO THE

STUDY OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

BY

REV. FRANCIS E. GIGOT, S.S.

VOL. I.	General Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures. 8vo, Cloth, . . .	Net $2 00.
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BY

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Author of "Outlines of Jewish History," "Outlines of New Testament History," "Biblical Lectures."

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PREFACE.

The present work is the outcome of lectures on General Introduction, delivered during several years in St. John's Boston Ecclesiastical Seminary, and is chiefly intended as a text-book for similar institutions. As such it deals with the questions which it behooves theological students most to be acquainted with before they enter on the scientific interpretation of the sacred text, and which fall under the three general heads of the Canon, Text and Versions, and Hermeneutics of the Holy Scriptures. In works of this kind it is customary to join to the study of these leading topics that of Biblical Inspiration, and in consequence, a concise treatment of the history, proofs, nature and extent of the inspiration of Holy Writ will be found in an appendix to the present volume.

The method which the writer has pursued in the study of these important and difficult questions is the one which was inaugurated towards the end of the seventeenth century by the French Oratorian, Richard Simon, and which is almost universally adopted by leading contemporary scholars. It is the historico-critical method, called thus from the general purpose it has in view, viz., to give as genuine facts, or as valid inferences from facts, only those which, in the light of historical knowledge and sound criticism, are entitled to be considered as such. It is in virtue of this truly scientific method that each part of the volume is mainly devoted to a historical account of the facts or theories connected with its respective topic, and will be found to embody an application of the generally acknowledged Canons of scriptural criticism. Thus it is hoped that the student of Biblical Introduction will not only secure a certain amount of positive information, but also acquire gradually personal habits of reflection and accuracy.

Although the writer has felt obliged to be brief in his treatment of the various topics, yet he is not without confidence that at least every important question has received its fair share of attention and development. Moreover, he has been careful to supply the reader with constant references to the best books from which further information can easily be gathered. The fac-similes of MSS., inscriptions, etc., which are found at the end of the volume, will also render its use more profitable to the student. They have been chiefly taken from the valuable work of Dr. Frederic J. Kenyon, *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts.*

Finally, it will be noticed that the present volume deals only with the questions appertaining to General Introduction; but the writer hopes to be soon able to add as a sequel to the work now offered to the public, two volumes of Special Introduction to the Old and New Testaments.

BALTIMORE, December 8, 1899.

NOTE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

No important changes will be noticed between this second, and the first, editions of the present work. They consist merely in a few verbal modifications, and in placing the chapters referring to "Biblical Inspiration" under the general head of "Part Fourth," instead of "Appendix."

BALTIMORE, March, 1901.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

PROLEGOMENA.

§ 1. *The Bible.*

1. Definition and Various Names. The Bible is the name commonly given to the collection of writings which the Church of God has recognized as inspired. It means "the Book" *par excellence*, and is derived from the Greek expression τὰ βιβλία (the Books), under which the early Christians designated their sacred volume.[1] In the Latin of the Middle Ages, the plural form "Biblia" (gen. bibliorum) — a simple transcript of the Greek — came gradually to be treated as a sing. fem. noun "Biblia" (gen. Bibliæ), and it is as a name in the singular that at the present day it is found in all the languages of the Western Church.

Among the other collective names which are frequently applied to the inspired writings we may mention: (1), *The Scripture* (Ἡ γραφή, Lat. *Scriptura*)[2]; (2), *the Scriptures* (αἱ γραφαί, Scripturæ);[3] (3), the *Holy Scriptures* (Ἅγιαι γραφαί, Sacræ Scripturæ);[4] (4), the *Old Testament* (Παλαιὰ διαθήκη), probably employed by St. Paul to designate the books written before the coming of Our Lord,[5] and the *New*

---

[1] Cfr. St. Clement, ii ad Cor. xiv, 2.

[2] II Tim. iii, 16, etc.

[3] II Pet. iii, 16, etc.

[4] Rom. i, 2.

[5] II Cor. iii, 14. The word *Testamentum* (hence the English) is an old Latin rendering of the Hebrew בְּרִית and of the Greek Διαθήκη, the meaning of which is "Covenant." It is now extended to designate the written records of the Old and of the New Covenant. Only in the Epistle to the Hebrews (ix, 16, 17) is the word Διαθήκη used with the meaning of testamentary disposition.

Testament (*Καινὴ διαθήκη*), now in common use when speaking of the sacred writings composed since the coming of Christ.

2. Number of the Sacred Books. The books solemnly declared "sacred and canonical" by the Council of Trent (Sess. iv, Decret. de canon. Script.) are as follows: "Of the Old Testament: the five books of Moses (to wit, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy), Josue, Judges, Ruth, four books of Kings, two of Paralipomenon, the first book of Esdras and the second, which is entitled Nehemias, Tobias, Judith, Esther, Job, the Davidical Psalter, consisting of a hundred and fifty Psalms; the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Canticle of Canticles, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Isaias, Jeremias (that is, his Prophecies and Lamentations) with Baruch; Ezechiel, Daniel; the twelve minor prophets (to wit, Osee, Joel, Amos, Abdias, Jonas, Micheas, Nahum, Habacuc, Sophonias, Aggæus, Zacharias, Malachias), two books of the Machabees, the first and the second. Of the New Testament: the four Gospels, according to Matthew, Mark, Luke and John; the Acts of the Apostles; fourteen epistles of Paul the Apostle, (one) to the Romans, two to the Corinthians, (one) to the Galatians, to the Ephesians, to the Philippians, to the Colossians, two to the Thessalonians, two to Timothy, (one) to Titus, to Philemon, to the Hebrews; two of Peter the Apostle, three of John the Apostle, one of the Apostle James, one of Jude the Apostle, and the Apocalypse of John the Apostle." From this enumeration it follows that the inspired writings are seventy-two in number, forty-five of which make up the Old Testament, and twenty-seven the New Testament.

Protestants agree with Catholics as to the number of the sacred books of the New Testament, but reject those books of the Old Testament which are not found in the Hebrew

Text, so that, according to them, the Old Testament contains only thirty-nine books.[1] Owing to their peculiar method of counting their sacred writings, the Jews spoke formerly of twenty-four books, and speak now of only twenty-two in the Hebrew Bible.[2]

3. Principal Divisions and Arrangement of the Sacred Books. Next to the general division of the Christian Bible into the books of the Old Testament and those of the New Testament, the most important division of the sacred writings is that found in the Hebrew Text. The Jews divide their sacred books into three great sections called respectively "the Law" or Torah (תּוֹרָה), "the Prophets" or N^{e}bhi'im (נְבִיאִים), and "the Writings" or K^{e}thubhim (כְּתוּבִים, in Greek ἁγιόγραφα). "The Law" includes the five books (Pentateuch) associated with the name of Moses. "The Prophets" are subdivided into the *earlier* prophets (Josue, Judges, I, II Samuel, I, II Kings) and the *later* prophets (Isaias, Jeremias, Ezechiel and the twelve minor prophets). "The Writings" or Hagiographa include (1) Poetical books (Psalms, Proverbs, Job); (2) the Five M^{e}ghilloth or Rolls (Canticle of Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther); (3) other books (Daniel, Esdras, Nehemias, Paralipomenon or Chronicles). Within the last two great sections, the order of the books sometimes varied, and other divisions of great antiquity are extant; but the one given is of special importance for the history of the Canon.

A very different arrangement of the sacred books of the Old Testament is to be met with in the Vulgate, and also in the Septuagint from which it is borrowed. The opening books

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[1] The books of Holy Writ not contained in the Hebrew Bible are: Tobias, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, the first and second books of the Machabees.

[2] Cfr. FRANTS BUHL, Canon and Text of the Old Testament, pp. 19-23; and W. R. SMITH, The Old Testament in the Jewish Church, 2d edit., pp. 149-151.

(Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy) being *historical*, are followed immediately by all those which are considered as such, whether they relate the general history of Israel (Josue, Judges, Ruth, I-IV Kings, I, II Paralipomenon, Esdras and Nehemias), or simply record particular facts (Tobias, Judith, Esther). After the historical books,—without any special title indicative of the change,—come the *poetical* and *didactic* works, viz.: Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticle of Canticles, Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus. Then follow, again without warning, the *prophetical* books, viz.: the books of the four great prophets (Isaias, Jeremias (with Baruch), Ezechiel and Daniel) and those of the twelve minor prophets. The series closes with the two books of the Machabees placed last in order, because supposed to be the last written. So that, although there is no order formally indicated in the Vulgate, yet—with the sole exception of the books of the Machabees,—all the writings of the Old Testament which treat of the same general topic, be it history, doctrine or prophecy, are carefully placed together.

This arrangement of the inspired writings according to their general topic can easily be discovered in the list of the sacred books of the New Testament which has been given above: the *historical* accounts of Our Lord's life contained in the Gospels are immediately followed by the *historical* book of the Acts of the Apostles; next come the *didactic* Epistles of St. Paul, St. James, St. Peter and St. John, and the list closes with the *prophetical* book of the Apocalypse. Such a topical arrangement has naturally led Christian commentators to divide the sacred writings of both Testaments into (1) Historical; (2) Didactic; and (3) Prophetical Books.[1]

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[1] The minor divisions of the sacred text introduced for use in public services or for convenience of reference will be given later on.

4. Unity, Beauty and Influence of the Bible. The inspired writings which are included in these three great divisions differ widely among themselves as regards style, authorship, date and method of composition. The historical books, for instance, are, for the most part, made up of old materials utilized in various proportions by the writer who gave them their final form. The prophetical writings, on the contrary, are usually nothing else than a summary of the public addresses which the special messengers of God had already delivered to the people of Israel. The book of Psalms is a liturgical collection of sacred hymns, the style and contents of which vary considerably according to the century to which they belong, and differ not only from those of the prose compositions found in the Bible, but also from the other poetical productions comprised in the sacred volume. Again some of the inspired writers belonged to the Jewish nobility, received a high degree of literary culture, or wrote during the golden age of Hebrew literature, whilst others, born and brought up among the humblest ranks of society, betray in their writings their lack of mastery of their mother tongue and of the art of composition. And yet, amidst all the differences, great and small, which may be noticed in the books of the Bible, an organic unity pervades and binds together all the integrant parts of the sacred volume. Thus, although the writers of the Old Testament lived in such different times and places, although they handled in so many different ways the written or oral traditions of their race, they all clearly pursued the same religious end, and steadily contributed, each in his own manner and degree, towards the unfolding of a divine plan which centred in the person and work of Christ. Such is also the purpose and burden of the New Testament writers. Despite the manifold and striking differences to be met with in their writings, their sole purpose is likewise the religious welfare of mankind, and the burden of their compositions is also no other than Christ, His person, words and examples. The same hidden spirit guided the pen of the sacred writers of either Testament, and made of the works of those who lived before Christ an active and steady preparation for the New Testament dispensation, and of the works of those who lived after Him, a real continuation and striking fulfilment of the old Covenant.

This great variety and wonderful unity of the sacred writings are indeed two very important elements of their literary beauty. There are other features, however, which have justly secured for the Bible the highest place in the literatures of the world. "Its portrayal of character is realistic; it is free in a remarkable degree from the vanity and egotism of the literary class; events are allowed to speak for themselves without verbal coloring; there is a dignity as well as a simplicity everywhere which does not descend to comedy or satire; there is an unparalleled naturalness in every form of composition adopted by the numerous writers: these and other features place the Bible on the highest pinnacle of literary excellence."[1] "If we ask the greatest orators and writers of the last three centuries, what has led them to read and study a book seemingly so foreign to their purpose, they will tell us that they find in it more original literary beauty than anywhere else; that the Bible narratives, for instance, are more exquisitely simple and true to nature, the poetry of the Psalms more airy and graceful in touch; that Job is more solemn and sublime, the Prophets more vehement and irresistible in their denunciations, more tender in their appeals, the Gospels, finally, and the Epistles more startling, and, at the same time, more touching, more persuasive in their varying tones, than any other literary productions."[2]

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[1] A. Cave, Introduction to Theology and its Literature, 2d edit., p. 244, sq.

[2] Very Rev. J. B. Hogan, S.S., Clerical Studies, p. 453.

It is less, however, through its transcendent literary beauty, than through its priceless contents, that the Bible has exercised a deep and well-nigh universal influence upon the minds and hearts of men. The Hebrews of old justly gloried in their sacred books and drew from them those exalted doctrinal and ethical teachings which made their religious and moral life so far superior to those of the rest of the world. Trained from childhood to respect and love the "Oracles of God," they instinctively turned to them for light and consolation in their trials, private or national.[1] So was it also with the early Christians, who had little else to develop the faith which they had received from the mouth of the Apostles, to increase their fervor in the midst of the most alluring temptations and keep up their courage in presence of the most cruel persecutions. Century after century, the Fathers and Doctors of the Church, kings and lawgivers, councils and individual theologians, preachers, apologists, artists, saints, have in turn gone to the inspired writings and drawn from them light and inspiration either for themselves or for others. In our age in particular, the contents of the Bible have been examined closely by friend and enemy, utilized by the historian as well as by the theologian, read and dwelt upon by the recluse and by the promoter of social reform.

§ 2. *General Introduction to the Bible.*

1. Its Object. The title "Introduction to the Sacred Scriptures" was used as early as the fifth century, when a Greek monk, named Adrian, wrote his *'Εισαγογὴ εἰς τὰς θείας γραφάς*. The object of his work was a limited one: he simply aimed at instructing readers of the Bible how to understand rightly some of its difficult words and sentences. With Cassiodorus, a writer of the sixth century and the immediate successor of Adrian in his field of labor, the scope of the Introduction to the Bible was considerably widened, and in the course of centuries, it was gradually extended to all the topics which prepare the way for the interpretation of Scripture. The tendency, however, in the present day,—especially because the study of several of these topics has given rise to distinct sciences,—is rather to restrict the object of Biblical Introduction to a few questions, particularly those which help directly to determine the value and meaning of the sacred writings. Among Catholics, in particular, the precise object of a *General* Introduction to the Scriptures is usually limited to the preliminary questions which concern the Bible considered as a whole, to such questions for instance as the manner in which the inspired books came gradually to form the collection now known as the Bible, the manner in which these same books once collected were transmitted in the course of ages, etc. In consequence, we shall consider as belonging to a *General* Introduction only those topics which refer to the sacred writings viewed collectively, and we shall assign to a *Special* Introduction all the preliminary questions about the contents, purpose, date, credibility, etc., of the *separate* books.

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[1] Cfr. I Machab. xii, 9.

2. Its Method of Study. The first to delineate and apply the proper method of study for a Biblical Introduction was the French Oratorian Richard Simon (1638–1712). Setting aside the dry and abstract method of those who had preceded him, he undertook to make a study at once historical and critical of the principal topics which belong to Biblical Introduction, hence the name of "Histoire Critique" which he gave to his great works on the Text, Versions and principal Commentaries of Holy Writ.[1] According to him, the sacred books, no less than their various translations, are literary products which must bear the impress of the ideas and methods of composition prevalent at the time when they were written, so that to view and appreciate these works rightly one has only to study them carefully in themselves and in the light of the historical events under which they came into existence. Simon's method was new, and as such distasteful to many. His positions, perhaps at times bold, often conflicted with the received views of his time, so that both his method and conclusions were at first strenuously opposed, and soon afterwards set aside. But time has proved the method of the French Oratorian the right one, and many of its conclusions correct. This is why scholars of our century who apply historical and critical methods of investigation to the various departments of human knowledge, willingly ascribe to Richard Simon the honor of having been the first to inaugurate the method according to which the questions introductory to the interpretation of the Bible should be handled. They rightly call him the "Father of Modern Criticism." Of course, whilst adopting this truly scientific method of investigation, the Christian student of the topics which belong to Biblical Introduction must always take into account the traditions and definitions of the Church. For these are both facts and expressions of Christian belief which no one should neglect, because they have been, and must ever remain, powerful elements in the development of questions connected with Holy Writ.

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[1] These works are: (1) Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament (Paris, 1678): (2) Histoire Critique du Texte du Nouveau Testament (Rotterdam, 1689): (3) Histoire Critique des principaux Commentateurs du Nouveau Testament (Rotterdam, 1693); (4) Histoire Critique des Versions du Nouveau Testament (Rotterdam, 1690).

3. Principal Divisions of General Introduction. The leading topics to which the historico-critical method just described is to be applied form the principal divisions of Biblical Introduction. These main divisions may be stated as follows: (1) Biblical *Canonics*, or historical examination of the manner in which the inspired books which make up the

Bible were gradually gathered up and recognized as the Word of God; (2) Biblical *Textual Criticism*, or scientific investigation of the way in which the sacred books have been transmitted to us either in their original language or in their principal translations; (3) Biblical *Hermeneutics*, or the principles and history of biblical interpretation.

To these three great divisions some writers on Introduction add another bearing on Biblical Inspiration; hence although the study of this difficult topic belongs perhaps more to the department of Dogmatic Theology than to that of Biblical Introduction, we shall deal with it in the Fourth Part of the present volume.

4. Recent Literature. Recent Catholic works on *General* Introduction are comparatively numerous; the best known among them are the following:

Abbé VIGOUROUX, S.S., Manuel Biblique, vol. 1st (Many editions have appeared since the first completed in 1880).

UBALDO UBALDI, Introductio in S. Scripturam, vol. 1 (Rome, 2d edit., 1882).

Abbé TROCHON, Introduction Générale (Paris, 1886). A Compendium of the same work was published in 1889.

RUDOLPHUS CORNELY, S.J., Historica et Critica Introductio in Libros Sacros, vol. 1 (Paris, 1885). A Compendium of the same work, also in Latin, was published in Paris in 1889.

FRANZ KAULEN, Einleitung in die heilige Schrift A. und N. T. (Freiburg, 3d edit., 1890). A Compendium of it appeared in 1897.

Abbé A. LOISY, Histoire du Canon de l'Ancien Testament (Paris, 1890); Histoire du Canon du Nouveau Testament (Paris, 1891); Histoire Critique du Texte et des Versions de la Bible (incomplete) (Paris, 1892, 1893).

A. E. BREEN, A General and Critical Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture (Rochester, N. Y., 1897).

Chauvin C., Leçons d'Introduction Générale aux Divines Écritures (Paris, 1897).

During the same length of time only few Protestant Works on *General* Introduction have been published; they are as follows:

Charles A. Briggs, Biblical Study (New York, 1887). A new and more complete edition of this work appeared in 1899, under the title of: General Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture.

Henry M. Harman, Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures (10th edit. New York, 1894).

Eduard Reuss, Allgemeine Einleitung zur Bibel, in Band 1 of his general work entitled: Das Alte Testament, übersetzt, eingeleitet und erläutert (Brunswick, 1892).

A. Schlatter, Einleitung in die Bibel (1890).

The recent work entitled: A Primer of the Bible, by W. H. Bennett (London, 1897), though useful on many points of Introduction, can hardly be considered as a General Introduction to the Bible.

PART FIRST.

BIBLICAL CANONICS.

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER I.

Origin and Growth of the Canon of the Old Testament.

I. Meaning of the Terms Canon, Canonical (Proto- and Deutero-) Books.

II. The Traditional View:

1. Beginning of the Canon with Moses (Deuter. xxxi, 9–13; 24–26).
2. Its continuation from Moses to the Babylonian Captivity:
   - Traces of collections of inspired books during this period.
   - Probability that these collections were added to the Books of Moses.
3. Discussion as to its close at the time of Esdras.
4. Relation between the Alexandrian and the Palestinian Canons of the Old Testament.

III. Recent Theories:

1. The three parts of the Hebrew Bible point to three stages in the formation of the Canon.
2. The Preparation for a Canon in:
   - Separate literary productions (songs, laws, history, prophecy).
   - Distinct collections of these literary productions.
3. The First Canon or "*the Law*":
   - Formally begun in the seventh century B.C.
   - Its gradual development brought to a close by Esdras.
4. The Second Canon or "*the Prophets*":
   - Formation begun not earlier than 300 B.C.
   - Completed by the end of the same century.
5. The Third Canon or "*the Writings*":
   - This third Group of Sacred Writings mentioned in Prologue to Ecclesiasticus.
   - Its formation falls probably between 160 B.C. and 110 A.D.

PART FIRST.

BIBLICAL CANONICS.

CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF THE CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

§ 1. *Meaning of the Terms Canon, Canonical (Proto- and Deutero-) Books.*

Before beginning to sketch the history of the Canon of Holy Writ, a few terms which will frequently occur in it require a brief explanation. The first of these terms is the word *Canon* itself. In its original Greek form (κανών) it designates *a straight rod, a pole,* and taken metaphorically, *a rule,* in ethics, in grammar, in art, etc.[1] Early Christian writers employed it also in the sense of a regulating principle when they spoke of "the Canon of the Truth,"[2] "the Canon of the Faith."[3] Later on, it came to designate—as it does now—the *collection* and the *list* of books which the Church receives as the inspired rule of faith and practice.[1]

---

[1] For examples illustrating this metaphorical meaning, cfr. Westcott, Canon of the New Testament, Appendix A; and art. Canon, in Vigouroux, Dictionnaire de la Bible.

[2] Clement of Alexandria, Stromata, Book vii, chap. xvi.; St. Irenæus, Adv. Hæreses, Book i, chap. ix, § 4.

[3] Polycrates, in Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, Book v, chap. xxiv.

The corresponding term, *Canonical*, occurs for the first time in the fifty-ninth decree of the Council of Laodicea (fourth century, A.D.), where we are told that "*private* (ἰδιωτικοὺς) psalms should not be read in the Church, nor *uncanonized* (ἀκανόνιστα) books, but only the *canonical* ones (τὰ κανονικὰ) of the New and Old Testaments." The word *Canonical* seems therefore to have meant, from the first, books which have been *canonized* (κανονιζόμενα), that is, ratified by the Church as belonging to the collection of the Holy Scriptures. This is still its principal meaning, although it is often applied to the books contained in the Canon, without direct reference to the decision of the Church concerning them.

Among the canonical books, some are called *Proto*-canonical, that is belonging to the Canon from the first, whilst others bear the name of *Deutero*-canonical, that is, admitted into it after the doubts entertained for some time about their sacred character had been finally removed. Protestants, it is true, consider the Deutero-canonical books of the Old Testament[2] as uncanonical, and hence give them the name of *Apocryphal*, but the impartial and careful study of the manner in which the sacred books were gathered up and recognized as inspired clearly shows that the Catholic position is the only one tenable on historical grounds.

§ 2. *Traditional View of the Origin and Growth of the Canon of the Old Testament.*

1. Beginning of the Canon with Moses (Deuter.

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[1] St. AMPHILOCHIUS († about 394 A.D.), at the end of the "Iambi ad Seleucum," on the books of the New Testament; St. JEROME, Prolog. Galeatus; St. AUGUSTINE, De Civitate Dei, Book xviii, chap. xxxviii.

[2] These Deutero-canonical books, or parts of books, are not found in the Hebrew Bible. They are as follows: Tobias, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, the two books of the Machabees, the fragments of the book of Esther (Esth. x, 4–xiv, 24), and those of the book of Daniel (Dan. iii, 24–90; xiii, 1–xiv, 42).

xxxi, 9–13 ; 24–26). It is to Moses, the great lawgiver of Israel, that century after century Jewish and Christian scholars have traced back the origin of the Canon of the Old Testament. Their position is founded chiefly on two passages of the book of Deuteronomy, the first of which (xxxi, 9–13) tells us that Moses having written "this law," handed it to the priests and to all the ancients of Israel, bidding them to read it every seventh year, "in the hearing of all Israel . . . that they and their children also hearing, may learn and fear Jehovah, and keep and fulfil all the words of this law." In the second passage (xxxi, 24–26), we are told that "Moses wrote this law in a volume (על־סֶפֶר), which he delivered to the Levites, commanding them to put it by the side of the Ark of the Covenant of Jehovah, that it might be for a testimony against Israel."

The law spoken of in these two passages as written by Moses and given to the people of God as the authentic rule of their religious life, has ever been considered by Jewish and Christian traditions as identical with our Pentateuch. Whence it is inferred that the first instalment of the inspired writings of the Old Testament goes back to the time of Moses.

2. Continuation of the Canon from Moses to the Babylonian Captivity. A somewhat similar line of argument is followed by the traditional school to render it probable that between Moses and the Babylonian captivity sacred books were collected and gradually joined to the canonical writings of the great lawgiver of Israel. Appeal is made, for instance, to the second book of Paralipomenon (xxix, 30) as implying the existence of a twofold collection of sacred hymns, viz., that of David and that of Asaph. We are also referred to the book of Proverbs (xxv, 1), where we read of the parables of Solomon, which the men of

Ezechias copied out and added to those already collected. Finally, the prophet Daniel (ix, 2), speaks of "the books" which he had consulted, and among which were the prophecies of Jeremias.

But these and other such parts of Holy Writ were not simply preserved as independent collections; they were also added gradually to the sacred books of Moses, and thus formed, even before the Babylonian exile, a real continuation of the primitive Canon of the Old Testament. The first proof of this position is drawn from the book of Josue (xxiv, 25, sq.), where we read that "Josue set before the people commandments and judgments in Sichem, and *wrote* all these things in the *volume of the law* of Jehovah," whereby it is implied that the successor of Moses in command added his own writings to that volume of the law which the book of Deuteronomy ascribes twice to the great lawgiver of Israel. Again, what we are told of the prophet Samuel laying before Jehovah "the law of the kingdom," which he had written "in a book," is considered as a trace of the custom of placing other writings by the side of those already kept in a sacred place (I Kings x, 25). Furthermore, we are reminded by conservative scholars that the Hebrew Text of the historical books composed before the Babylonian captivity (Josue, Judges, Ruth, etc.), opens with the conjunction *and* (ו), a fact which seems to imply that each of these writings was intended, from the first, as a continuation of the preceding sacred books and as an integrant part of the same series. Finally, since after the captivity Nehemias and Judas Machabeus made up a library of sacred books (II Machab. ii, 13; cfr. Josephus, Wars of the Jews, Book vii, chap. v, § 5, and Antiquities of the Jews, Book v, chap. i, § 7), it is probable that in this they were only following the example of their ancestors.

Such are the principal arguments commonly set forth to prove that the Canon continued to be enlarged between the time of Moses and the Babylonian captivity. They would indeed appear very plausible, were it not that they are met by a well-nigh insuperable difficulty in the fact that the Samaritans have never regarded as sacred any other books besides the Pentateuch, although their sect was not finally organized before the time of Nehemias (middle of the fifth century before Christ).[1]

3. Discussion as to the Close of the Canon of the Old Testament at the Time of Esdras. The same obscurity which surrounds the growth of the Canon of the Old Testament prevails in connection with its close. There is, indeed, a very widely spread opinion that the Canon of the Old Testament was brought to a close in the time of Nehemias and Esdras, but it is far from deserving the full credence which many prominent Catholic and Protestant scholars gave it since the middle of the sixteenth century.[2] The principal grounds in favor of that opinion are:

(1) The *Testimony of Josephus*[3] (first century, A.D.), who speaks of "twenty-two books only," which "all Jews" consider as sacred, and which were composed before the reign of Artaxerxes (B.C. 465–425). "From Artaxerxes to our own age," he adds, "the history has been written in detail; but it is not esteemed worthy of the same credit, on account of the exact succession of the prophets having been no longer maintained."

(2) The *Fourth Book of Esdras.* In this apocryphal book, which was written towards the close of the first century

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[1] For a careful discussion of these arguments, see Abbé LOISY, Histoire du Canon de l'Ancien Testament, p. 33, sqq.; cfr. also GREEN, W. H., Introduction to the Old Testament, 1 part; the Canon, chaps. ii, vii.

[2] Among recent Catholic writers who maintain that position, we may mention Welte, Scholz, Ubaldi and Cornely.

[3] Against Apion, Book i, § 8.

A.D., Esdras, shortly before his death, is represented as endowed with divine inspiration and dictating during forty days to five skilled scribes. The result of their untiring labor is the re-writing of the twenty-four canonical books of the Hebrew Bible, together with seventy other books which should "be delivered only to such as be wise among the people." [1]

(3) The *Opinions of* such *Fathers* or *Ecclesiastical Writers* as Tertullian,[2] Clement of Alexandria,[3] St. Basil,[4] Theodoret,[5] St. Chrysostom,[6] St. Isidore of Seville,[7] some of whom clearly depend on the fourth book of Esdras for their information respecting the close of the Canon of the Old Testament.

(4) The *Testimony of the Talmud*,[8] or uncanonical written law of the Jews, which in a famous passage describes the order of the books of the Hebrew Bible, and then says: "And who wrote them? Moses wrote his own book and the section concerning Balaam [9] and Job. Josue wrote his own book and eight verses of the law.[10] Samuel wrote his own book and Judges and Ruth. David wrote the book of Psalms with the help of ten elders, viz., Adam, Melchisedech, Abraham, Moses, Eman, Jeduthun, Asaph and the three sons of Core. Jeremias wrote his own book and the book of Kings and Lamentations. Ezechias and his college wrote Isaias, Proverbs, the Canticle of Canticles and Ecclesiastes. The men of the Great Synagogue [11] wrote Ezechiel, the twelve (minor prophets), Daniel and Esther. Esdras wrote

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[1] Cfr. IV Esdras, chap. xiv.

[2] De cultu fem., Book i, chap. iii.

[3] Stromata, Book i, chap. xii.

[4] Epist. ad Chilonem (Epist. xlii, § 5).

[5] Preface to Commentary on the Canticle of Canticles.

[6] Homily viii on Epistle to the Hebrews, (chap. v) § 4.

[7] Etymologies, Book vi, chap. iii (MIGNE, P. L., vol. 82).

[8] Section Nᵉziqin, treatise *Baba Bathra*, fol. 14 *b*.

[9] Numb. xxii, 2—xxv, 12.

[10] Deuter. xxxiv, 5-12.

[11] The *Great Synagogue*, according to Jewish tradition, was a permanent council assembled by Esdras and having authority in religious matters.

his own book and the genealogies of the book of Chronicles as far as himself."

Despite the foregoing arguments in favor of the view that the Canon of the Old Testament was closed at the time of Esdras, it is the growing tendency of Catholic[1] and Protestant scholars alike to reject a theory the main stay of which is the apocryphal fourth book of Esdras, since that book is manifestly bent on exaggerating the work of Esdras in connection with the sacred writings of the Old Testament. They also feel little bound by the testimony of Josephus, for at the very time when he wrote, the canonical character of Ezechiel, Ecclesiastes, Ruth, Esther, Proverbs and the Canticle of Canticles was still a matter of discussion among the Jews. But what leads them chiefly to maintain that the Canon of the Old Testament was not closed at the time of Nehemias and Esdras, is the difference in respect of their contents, which exists between the Hebrew Text and the Septuagint Version or oldest Greek translation of the Old Testament which the Greek-speaking Jews used freely in their religious services at and before the beginning of the Christian era. Whilst the Hebrew Bible comprises only *Proto*-canonical books supposed to have been all written before the death of Esdras, the Septuagint Version contains over and above them, *Deutero*-canonical books, some of which —as for instance, the books of the Machabees—were evidently composed much later than the middle of the fifth century before Christ. As these additional books are not collected in a final appendix to the Septuagint translation, but are distributed among the other books of the Hebrew Bible as if of equal authority with them, it seems impossible to admit that the Canon of the Old Testament was finally brought to a close at the time of Nehemias and Esdras.

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[1] Of such writers, for instance, as Vigouroux, Loisy, Trochon, etc.

4. Relation between the Alexandrian and the Palestinian Canons of the Old Testament. The material difference just pointed out between the contents of the Hebrew Bible and those of its oldest Greek translation, has given rise to the important distinction between the *Alexandrian* and the *Palestinian* Canons of the Old Testament, thus called from the two places (Alexandria in Egypt, and Palestine) with which their respective origin is chiefly connected.[1] That before Our Lord's time the Jews of Alexandria—and indeed all the Greek-speaking Jews,—numbered among their sacred writings both proto- and deutero-canonical books, can hardly be doubted. For on the one hand, all the extant manuscripts of the Septuagint Version comprise both classes of books without the least trace of difference of authority between them, and on the other hand, as we shall see later, both deutero- and proto-canonical books stood on the same footing at the very beginning of the Church, that is at a time when no deviation from Jewish tradition can seriously be supposed.

But, if such be the case, if it be true that, before our era, the Alexandrian Canon contained books which are not now found in the Hebrew Bible which is supposed to be identical with the Palestinian Canon, the question is forced upon us: How can we account for the present difference between the two Canons? A twofold solution is given to this important question. A large number of scholars think that the Palestinian Canon never contained other books than those now found in the Hebrew Bible, so that the difference comes from the fact that, before our era, the Alexandrian Jews gradually added to them other books, viz., the deutero-canonical books. Other scholars contend, on the contrary, that at and before the time of Christ, both Palestinian and the Alexandrian Jews admitted one and the same Canon, viz., a Canon which included the deutero-canonical books, and that since then the Jews have removed them from their Canon.

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[1] The *Alexandrian* Canon is also called the *Hellenistic* Canon or Canon of the *Hellenists*, because it was the one admitted by the *Greek*-speaking Jews.

The advocates of the first solution appeal to the fact that the number of books joined to those of the Palestinian Canon varies considerably in the manuscripts of the Septuagint, and thus bespeaks the gradual additions made to the Canon by the Alexandrian Jews. Again, they call our attention to the use which Philo (an Alexandrian writer who lived about 10 B.C.—50 A.D.) makes of the Sacred Scriptures: he quotes from and allegorizes upon, only the books of the Palestinian Canon, although he betrays acquaintance with the deutero-canonical writings. Finally, Josephus is indeed aware of the existence of the deutero-canonical books, since he frequently uses them, but when he wishes to give expressly the number of the books which the Jews regard as sacred, he speaks only of the twenty-two books of the Hebrew Bible.

The scholars who are favorable to the second solution, that is who think that at a certain period in the history of the Canon, the Palestinian collection comprised both proto- and deutero-canonical books adduce the following arguments. At the close of his *Antiquities of the Jews*,[1] a work which narrates the history between the Creation and the twelfth year of Nero, Josephus affirms that his only authorities have been the *sacred writings* (ἱεραὶ βίβλοι), although in the course of his volume he has freely used the first book of the Machabees and transcribed literally several passages from the deutero-canonical fragments of the book of Esther.[2] Another and perhaps stronger argument is drawn from the manner in which the Talmudic writers look upon several deutero-canonical books. They speak of Baruch as a prophetical writing; ascribe the book of Wisdom to Solomon, and quote repeatedly Ecclesiasticus with a formula used only to introduce quotations from Holy Writ.[1] Again the fact that all the deutero-canonical books of the Old Testament (except Wisdom and II Machabees) were written in Hebrew, seems to point to Palestine as the place of their composition, and hence also as the place from which the Alexandrian Jews obtained them, for Greek-speaking Jews were in constant communication with the holy city for things appertaining to their religion. In point of fact the note appended to the book of Esther in the Septuagint (cfr. Vulgate : Esth. xi, 1), and the remark which we read in II Machabees (ii, 15), go far towards proving that the Jews of Alexandria were indebted to those of Palestine for the deutero-canonical books which are not now found in the Hebrew Bible. It seems, however, that the first solution is better grounded on fact.[2]

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[1] Book xx, chap. xi, § 2.

[2] Book xii, chap. v, §1—Book xiii, chap. vii; Book xi, chap. vi, § 6, sq.

§ 3. *Recent Theories about the Origin and Growth of the Canon of the Old Testament.*

1. **Meaning of the Threefold Division of the Hebrew Bible.** A close study of the traditional data concerning the origin and growth of the Canon of the Old Testament proves that they are both few and little reliable. It leads also to the conclusion that as long as inquiry into that important question is based on such scanty and imperfect grounds, no real advance towards a more satisfactory solution can be hoped for. It is not therefore surprising to find that in our age of independent investigation, biblical scholars have looked for new data which would enable them to frame theories more scientific than those hitherto in vogue. In point of fact, their untiring efforts have been crowned with considerable success, and we now proceed to state briefly their principal conclusions.

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[1] Cfr. Trochon, Introduction, vol. i, p. 118, sq.; Frants Buhl, Canon and Text of the Old Test., p. 46 (Engl. transl.); Vigouroux, Dictionnaire de la Bible, art. Canon, p. 142.

[2] Cfr. Loisy, Histoire du Canon de l'Ancien Testament, pp. 61–67.

The first of these conclusions refers to the very ancient division of the Hebrew Bible into three parts, viz., "the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa." To account for it, the ancient rabbis appealed to a threefold degree of inspiration granted to the sacred writers. According to these Jewish authorities, the first and highest degree of inspiration, which consisted in a direct intercourse with God, had been vouchsafed to Moses alone,[1] and in consequence, "the Law" due to his pen justly formed the first division in the Hebrew Text. The lower degrees of divine inspiration, viz., the prophetical ecstasy, and what the rabbis call the בַּת קוֹל, some sort of still inferior divine help, had been granted to the prophets and other holy writers respectively, and this is why their works had been placed after the writings of Moses and made to constitute the second and third divisions of the Hebrew Bible. This *a priori* conception of the Jewish rabbis clearly influenced the Christian scholars who, down to the present day, think that this threefold division of the sacred books in the Hebrew is to be traced to the corresponding several degrees of personal dignity with which their authors were invested. It can hardly be doubted, however, that, as recent theories maintain, this threefold division of the Hebrew Bible points to a gradual development in the formation of the Canon of the Old Testament. As the sacred books which make up the Hebrew Text were only gradually composed, so also were they only gradually gathered and made to constitute the threefold collection which is called "the Law, the Prophets, and the other Books" in the Prologue to Ecclesiasticus, that is as early as 130 B.C.

2. The Preparation for a Canon. Whilst the traditional view does not go back of Moses and the work ascribed to him, in order to account for the beginning of the Canon, the recent theories refer us to several preparatory stages. They assume the existence of a large and varied Hebrew literature out of which our Pentateuch itself was gradually formed.

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[1] Cfr. Numb. xii, 8, where we are told that Jehovah spoke "from mouth to mouth" to Moses, "and plainly, and not by riddles and figures."

The literature of Israel, we are told, like that of any other nation, began naturally with productions of a much more primitive character than the books of law and history found in our first canonical collection. Separate songs celebrating the glorious deeds either of Jehovah or of Israel's heroes, must have been the earliest fruit of the Hebrew literary genius, and in point of fact, some of these poetical pieces are simply embodied in the sacred writings (cfr. Exod. xv, 1, sq.; Numb. xxi, 27–30), whilst others are explicitly mentioned as taken from the distinct collections into which they had been gathered in the course of time (Numb. xxi, 14; cfr. also Jos. x, 13; II Kings i, 18, etc.). In like manner, recent investigations into the composition of the Pentateuch have shown that several collections of Israelite laws, such for instance as the "Book of the Covenant" (Exod. xx, 20—xxiii, 33), the "Law of Holiness" (Levit. xvii—xxvi), etc., were made at different times and long before they came to be employed by the sacred writer. Again, it is considered solidly established that at the root of the history contained in "the Law," or first part of the Canon, there lie old written traditions and previous historical compilations, the style and other peculiarities of which can still be discerned in our inspired narrative. That collections of prophetical writings were also made and transmitted before our present Pentateuch had been recognized as canonical, is also affirmed by recent theories regarding the origin and growth of the Canon of the Old Testament, and the existence of such collections can hardly be denied except by scholars who look upon all these theories as utterly groundless.

3. The First Canon or "the Law." The practical means whereby one of the literary productions of Israel was finally considered as a canonical book among the Jews, is a matter of uncertainty both to the partisans of the old traditional view [1] and to those of the recent theories. The latter scholars, however, point justly to two great events in Jewish history, with which a solemn promulgation and recognition of a book as sacred can well be connected. The first of these events goes back to the year 621 B.C., when the *Book of the Law*, newly discovered in the course of repairs made to the Temple of Jerusalem, was received with the utmost respect by King Josias and his people, considered as a guide in regard to things appertaining to the worship of God, and made the basis of a thorough religious reformation in Israel. Plainly the roll in question contained the words of Jehovah, and enjoyed in the eyes of all the full undisputed authority of a sacred book (IV Kings xxii, xxiii; II Paralip. xxxiv, xxxv). As this "*Book of the Law*" was not the whole Pentateuch,[2] but only a part of it, viz., the Deuteronomic Law,[3] we have here a proof that the formal beginning of the Canon goes back to the seventh century B.C.[4] To this first instalment of the sacred collection, large additions were gradually made down to the middle of the fifth century B.C., when in a ceremony resembling in many ways the one which had occurred under Josias, Esdras read publicly the complete law of Moses, and the people pledged themselves solemnly to live up to its requirements (II Esdras, viii, ix).

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[1] Cfr. VIGOUROUX, Manuel Biblique, vol. i, n. 26; and LOISY, Histoire du Canon de l'Ancien Testament, p. 33.

[2] Cfr. Abbé MARTIN, Introduction à la Critique Générale de l'Ancien Testament, vol. ii, p. 230, sq.

[3] Cfr. CHAS. ROBERT, Réponse à "the Encyclical and the English and American Catholics," p. 52, sq.; DRIVER, Deuteronomy in the International Critical Commentary.

[4] Cfr. G. WILDEBOER, The Origin of the Canon of the O. T., p. 101, sq., Eng. Transl.; and RYLE, The Canon of the Old Test., chaps. ii. iii.

That only the Pentateuch was thus made canonical in the time of Esdras is confirmed by the fact that the Samaritans, whose definitive organization as a separate community is to be placed a little later, do not recognize as Holy Writ any other books beside the Pentateuch.[1]

4. The Second Canon or "the Prophets." When it is remembered that "the Prophets" or second part of the Hebrew Bible includes historical works (Josue, Judges, Samuel, Kings), which form a natural continuation to the history of the Jewish people contained in the Pentateuch, it can easily be understood that all such books avowedly compiled from prophetical sources or breathing a prophetical spirit, would be sooner or later joined, together with the prophetical writings proper (Isaias, Jeremias, etc.), to the sacred books of Moses. The period within which the second collection of inspired writings was formed can be given only approximately. Begun a little later than the final organization of the Samaritan community, which does not include any of the prophetical writings in its Canon, it was brought to a close some time before the Prologue to Ecclesiasticus, which speaks of "the Prophets" as of a well-known and perfectly defined collection of sacred writings. Hence, recent theories infer that "the Prophets," or second Canon, was not begun earlier than 300 B.C., and was completed by the end of the same century.

5. The Third Canon or "the Writings." Side by side with "the Law and the Prophets," the Prologue to Ecclesiasticus speaks of "other books," of "the rest of the books" as "delivered to the Jews from their fathers." This reference to a third collection of sacred books clearly implies that when the Prologue was written (that is, about 130

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[1] Cfr. G. WILDEBOER, loc. cit., pp. 104–111.

B.C.), the formation of the third Canon was at least begun for some time, but it does not give us any information about its extent in the middle of the second century B.C., or about the date at which it was brought to a close. Probably most of "the Hagiographa" were already in existence when the second Canon was completed, but began to be gathered up into a third Canon only about 160 B.C. This third collection of sacred writings, which is designated in the New Testament under the name of "the Psalms" (Luke xxiv, 44), from its first and oldest part, the book of Psalms, did not apparently receive the final ratification of its present contents long before the middle of the second century A.D.[1]

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[1] For a detailed exposition of these new theories the student is referred to G. WILDEBOER, the Origin of the Canon of the Old Testament; H. E. RYLE, Essay on the Canon of the Old Testament; S. DAVIDSON, the Canon of the Bible; W. SANDAY, Inspiration, Lectures ii-v.

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER II.

The Canon of the Old Testament in the Christian Church.

Section I. From the Apostles to the Middle of the Fifth Century.

I. The Canon as admitted by the Apostles:

1. The Septuagint Version habitually quoted by New Testament writers.
2. The use of the Greek Scriptures allowed to the Neophytes.
3. Allusions to the Deutero-canonical books, found in the New Testament.

II. The First Three Centuries:

1. Special importance of the Testimony of the early Ecclesiastical writers.
2. The Canon of the Western and Eastern Churches.
3. Principal difficulties stated and examined.

III. The Fourth Century and First Part of the Fifth Century.

1. Opposition to the Deutero-canonical books in Works of:
   - Eastern Fathers.
   - Western writers, especially St. Jerome.
2. Arguments in favor of the Deutero-canonical books:
   - Practical use made of them.
   - Documents in their favor.

CHAPTER II.

THE CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

SECTION I. FROM THE APOSTLES TO THE MIDDLE OF THE FIFTH CENTURY.

§ 1. *The Canon as Admitted by the Apostles.*

1. The Septuagint Version Habitually Quoted by the New Testament Writers. With the beginning of Christianity opens a new and most important period in the history of the Canon of the Old Testament. The sacred books of Israel contained in a Bible which exists in two forms (the Hebrew and the Greek), cease to be the exclusive possession of the Jews, and are henceforth read with equal reverence in both the Jewish and the Christian assemblies. In the Hebrew Text, the inspired writings are still divided into "the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings," and the contents of this last division are yet undetermined.[1] In the Greek Bible, or Septuagint, this threefold division of the sacred books has long given way to the arrangement which we now find in our own copies of the Septuagint, and of the Vulgate: they present the deutero-canonical writings of the Old Testament so mingled with the proto-canonical books as to assign to them the same authority.

In presence of the Bible in these two forms the founders and first writers of the Church made a choice, and their choice, which was the outcome of both natural circumstances and inward divine guidance, settled in a practical manner the important question: Which of the two Bibles should henceforth be regarded as the Bible of the Christian Church? Sent to convert the Greek-speaking world, they naturally appealed to the existing Greek version of Holy Writ for oral and written proofs in favor of Christ's messiahship and divinity. In point of fact, their quotations from the Greek Bible are so numerous (about 300 out of 350 quotations of the Old Testament in the New), and of such a nature, that some writers have seen in them a proof that the Apostles had formally ratified all its contents. The inference, however, is not probable. On the one hand, this distinct approval of the entire Greek Bible has left no trace in history, and, on the other hand, the variety of opinions which soon arose regarding the extent of the Canon, tends to show that such an approval was never given.

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[1] Cfr. WILDEBOER, pp. 72–75.

2. The Use of the Greek Scriptures Allowed to the Neophytes. From the fact that the Apostles did not formulate an express decision in favor of the Septuagint Version and all its contents, Protestant writers generally draw an argument against the canonical character of the books which the Septuagint contained over and above those of the Hebrew Bible. They affirm that the Apostles considered as inspired only the books of the Palestinian Canon, and that this is why they refrained from a positive approval of the Greek Bible and its fuller Canon. This line of argument is inadmissible. For, if the Apostles looked upon the deutero-canonical writings as non-inspired, it was their plain duty not only to abstain from giving them full approval, but also to exclude them from the Bible used by the early Christians. This exclusion was all the more imperatively required, because the intermingling of proto- and deutero-canonical books in the Septuagint translation was such as to imply their real equality. But far from excluding them from the Greek Scriptures, the Apostles allowed to the early Christian communities the use of the Alexandrian Canon, without any distinction between the books it contained. It is plain, therefore, that if the attitude of the Apostles regarding the contents of the Septuagint Version proves anything, it proves that, in their eyes, all the books of the Greek Bible were really divine.

3. Allusions to the Deutero-canonical Books, found in the New Testament. Our position derives a powerful confirmation from the fact that the writers of the New Testament show a close acquaintance with the deutero-canonical books. They never quote them explicitly, it is true, but time and again they borrow expressions and ideas from them.[1] Again, "the examples of religious courage and constancy extolled by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (xi, 34, sq.), are undoubtedly copied in part from the history of the Machabees (II Mach. vi, 18–vii, 42); and just as he presents these latter to the admiration of the faithful as having claims equal to those of the heroes of sacred antiquity, so the documents relating the life of both must have had an equal value in the eyes of the writer quoting them."[2] From these allusions to the deutero-canonical books, we naturally infer that when they used and put on the same level all the books found in the Alexandrian Canon, the neophytes simply followed the example set before them by their teachers.

It is true, as stated above, that the New Testament writers do not quote expressly the deutero-canonical books, but this may be accounted for otherwise than by their desire of marking them off as uncanonical, for, in point of fact, they have neither quoted nor even alluded to several protocanonical books whose sacred character they of course never questioned.[1]

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[1] Cfr. for instance, James i, 19, with Ecclesiasticus v, 13, and iv, 29; I Peter 1, 6–7, with Wisdom iii, 5–6; Heb. i, 3, with Wisdom vii, 26; etc.

[2] Reuss, Hist. of the Canon of Holy Scripture, p. 10, sq., Engl. Transl.

§ 2. *The First Three Centuries.*

1. Special Importance of the Testimony of the Early Ecclesiastical Writers. In the history of the Canon of the Old Testament in the Christian Church, especial importance attaches naturally to the testimony of the early ecclesiastical writers. As they stood nearest to the apostolic times, they had the best opportunity to learn which Canon had received the practical approval of the Apostles, which Canon they should themselves use and transmit to their successors. Whatever Bible they quoted from, whatever books they regarded as inspired, the same were bound to become and remain the Bible and the sacred books of all future generations. Their words form the first links in that long chain of testimonies in favor of the deutero-canonical writings, which connects the present with the past, and which depends ultimately for its worth on the strength of its first links. In point of fact, most recent biblical scholars appeal to the testimony of the earliest ecclesiastical writers, fully persuaded that these first disciples of the Apostles simply continue and give expression to the mind of their teachers in regard to the Canon of Holy Writ.

2. The Canon of the Western and Eastern Churches. One of the best ascertained facts in the history of the Canon of the Old Testament during the first three centuries is that both the Western and Eastern Churches used a Bible whose contents were more extensive than those of the Hebrew Text. This Bible was either the Septuagint Version itself, naturally employed by the early Fathers who wrote in Greek, or the old Latin Version, which was made directly from the Septuagint, and contained, like the Greek Bible, both the proto- and the deutero canonical books of the Old Testament.

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[1] These books are: Judges, Nahum, Canticle of Canticles, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Esdras and Nehemias.

Another fact, no less certain than the one just referred to, is that the Greek and Latin Fathers of this period quote both sets of writings, without the least suspicion that the Apostles ever disapproved of any of them. They use both for the purpose of edification and instruction, and ascribe to them equal authority. This is the case with St. CLEMENT of Rome († 100 A.D.), who was unquestionably the most prominent figure in the sub-Apostolic age, and who, in his epistle to the Corinthians, makes use of the books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, and summarizes the book of Judith and that of Esther, with its deutero-canonical additions.[1] In like manner, the book of Tobias is known to the author of the very ancient homily usually referred to as the second epistle of St. Clement,[2] whilst Ecclesiasticus and the second book of the Machabees are made use of in "The Shepherd," a work commonly ascribed to HERMAS.[3] The writings of St. IRENÆUS († 202 A.D.), the illustrious Bishop of Lyons, afford us a testimony weightier still, because of his personal relations with the churches of Asia and with that of Rome. He makes use of the book of Wisdom, quotes Baruch, under the name of "Jeremias the Prophet," and the deutero-canonical parts of Daniel as "Daniel the Prophet."[4] To these testimonies might be added those of other Western ecclesiastical writers, such as St. HIPPOLYTUS of Rome († 220 A.D.), TERTULLIAN († 220 A.D.), St. CYPRIAN († 258 A.D.), but as it is granted on all hands that these witnesses quote the deutero-canonical writings without scruple, speak of them as "Holy Scripture," and cite passages with the solemn introductory formulas, "as it is written," "the Holy Spirit teaches," etc., it is not necessary to insist on their testimony.[1]

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[1] Cfr. I Cor. iii, with Wisdom ii, 24; xxvii with Wisdom xi, 22; xii, 12; also I Cor. lv, with Judith, passim, and Esther xiv.

[2] Cfr. II Cor. xvi, with Tobias xii, 9.

[3] Cfr. e. g.: 1st Commandment and 5th Similitude, chap. v, with Ecclesiasticus xviii, 1; also 1st Comm. with II Mach. vii, 28.

[4] Cfr. Against Heresies, Book V, chap. xxxv, § 1; Book IV, chap. v, § 2; Book IV, chap. viii, § 3.

If from the Western we turn to the Eastern Churches, we find no less numerous, no less explicit, statements in favor of the sacred character of the deutero-canonical books. Thus, the writer of the epistle usually ascribed to St. BARNABAS quotes Ecclesiasticus iv, 36.[2] St. POLYCARP († 160) cites Tobias iv, 11;[3] and St. ATHENAGORAS in his "Apology," presented to the emperor Marcus Aurelius about 177 A.D., quotes Baruch iii, 36, as the saying of a "prophet."[4] CLEMENT of Alexandria († 220 A.D.) uses the deutero- like the proto-canonical books for explanation and proof indiscriminately; he quotes Tobias as "Scripture," Baruch as "divine Scripture," Wisdom as written by Solomon, and consequently "divine," etc.[5] In this, CLEMENT is faithfully followed by his most illustrious disciple, ORIGEN († 254 A.D.), who quotes as Holy Writ all the deutero-canonical writings, claims for the Church the right to admit into her Canon books which are rejected by the Jews, and expressly defends the reception among Christians of the books of Tobias and Judith, and of the additions to the books of Daniel and Esther.[6] DIONYSIUS of Alexandria, in the extant fragments of his works, cites Tobias, Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom and Baruch.[1] Finally, St. METHODIUS († 311 A.D.), the Bishop of Tyre and adversary of Origen, employs the deutero-canonical like the other writings of the Old Testament.[2]

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[1] Cfr BREEN, Introd. to Holy Scripture, p. 68, sq.; SAM. DAVIDSON, The Canon of the Bible, 3d edit., pp. 101, 103, sq.

[2] Epistle, chap. xix.

[3] Epistle to the Philippians, chap. x.

[4] Apology, chap. ix.

[5] Cfr. Pædag. B II, chap. 3; Stromata, B. II, ch. 23; B. IV, ch. 6; B. II, ch. 15; B. II, ch. 7, etc.

[6] Cfr. Comm. in Joann.; Against Celsus, Book III, chap. 72, etc., etc.; also Epist. to Africanus, §§ 4, 5.

In presence of this unanimous consent of Eastern and Western ecclesiastical writers, it is easy to understand how just are the following words of the late Protestant professor, REUSS: "The Christian theologians of this period knew the Old Testament only in its Greek form (in the Septuagint), and consequently they made no distinction between what we call canonical books (Hebrew) and apocryphal books (Greek). They quote both with the same confidence, with the same formulas of honor, and attribute to them an equal authority based on an equal inspiration." [3]

3. Principal Difficulties Stated and Examined. To offset this unanimous consent of the East and the West, recent Protestant writers have brought forward various arguments which we must now state and examine. We are told, for instance, by WESTCOTT [4] that "the quotations from the Old Testament in Justin . . . . confirm exclusively the books of the Hebrew Bible. There is no quotation, I believe (in his works), of the *Apocrypha* of the Old Testament, though *Wisdom*, at least, would have fallen in with much of Justin's reasoning."

To this it may be answered, (1) that the holy Doctor had hardly any natural occasion to quote the deutero-canonical books in his *Apologies* to the Roman emperor; (2) that in point of fact, as admitted by the Protestant writer KEIL,[5] "he used the Alexandrian additions to Daniel in his first

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[1] On Nature against the Epicureans, fragm. 3, 5; *contra* Paulum Samos., qu. 6, 9, 10.

[2] The Banquet of the Ten Virgins, 1st discourse, chap. iii.

[3] History of the Canon of Holy Scripture, p. 93, Eng. Transl.

[4] The Bible in the Church, p. 106, new edit., 1885.

[5] Introduction to the Old Test., vol. ii, p. 351, Eng. Transl.

Apology, chap. 46;" (3) that in his Dialogue with a Jew named Trypho, St. Justin mentions several times his purpose to quote only those Scriptures which are admitted by the Jews.[1]

The testimony of another apologetic writer, St. MELITO (fl.170 (?) A.D.), Bishop of Sardis, is also appealed to against the deutero-canonical writings. In his letter, which serves as a preface to his collection of extracts from the Old Testament,[2] the holy bishop gives a list of the sacred books of which he had learned the exact number and order when in the East, that is, in Palestine. This list includes all the books of the Hebrew Canon (except Esther), follows the same general order as the Greek Bible in their enumeration, and contains no deutero-canonical writing. From these facts two most important inferences, it is claimed, should be drawn: (1) "that the judgment of the East, or in other words of Palestine, was that which was held to be decisive on the contents of the Old Testament;" (2) that "Melito's list appears to be a catalogue of the books in the Palestinian Septuagint, the Greek Bible which was used by Our Lord and the Apostles."[3]

Quite a different construction, however, can and should be put on the words of the Bishop of Sardis. His collection of extracts from the Old Testament, having a polemical purpose against the Jews, was intended from the first to contain simply passages from "the Law and the Prophets,"[4] and was naturally carried out only when he had ascertained to his full satisfaction "the books of the Old Testament" which the best informed Jews, viz., those of Palestine, regarded as inspired. In his enumeration of the writings admitted as sacred by the Jews, he does not follow "a Palestinian Septuagint," of which there is no trace in all the literature which refers to the Canon of the Old Testament, but simply adopts the order of books with which he himself and his correspondent, Onesimus, a Christian of Asia Minor, were familiar in the current copies of the Septuagint Version.[1] Finally, if he omitted purposely to mention the book of Esther, it was not because he personally rejected its sacred character on the authority of the Jews of Palestine, but because he did not find it admitted by the rabbis whom he consulted.[2]

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[1] Dialogue with Trypho. chaps. 71, 120, 137.

[2] EUSEBIUS, Ecclesiastical History, Book IV, chap. xxvi.

[3] WESTCOTT, The Bible in the Church, p. 124; cfr. also H. E. RYLE, The Canon of the Old Test., p. 208

[4] Cfr Melito's letter in Eusebius, loc. cit.

It should be said, however, that some Catholic writers—among whom Vigouroux and Loisy—hold that St. Melito accepted the Hebrew Canon on the authority of the Jews, and that, in doing so, he departed from the right tradition of the Christian churches.

This last remark applies in a special manner to the conduct of Origen. This illustrious Doctor gives practically the Hebrew Canon in the sole passage of his writings which contains a catalogue of the Scriptures of the Old Testament,[3] and further seems to make it his own in at least one passage of his Commentaries.[4] It is clearly impossible to read carefully these two passages and to compare them with the views of Origen stated above, without feeling that here he is simply deviating from what had been, and was still in his time, the public and positive belief of the Church of Alexandria. That Church, like all those of the first three centuries, used the Greek Bible, and put exactly on the same level all the books it contained.

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[1] This is precisely the case with Origen when he enumerates the books of the Hebrew Canon; cfr. EUSEBIUS, Eccles. Hist., Book VI, chap. xxv.

[2] Cfr. H. E. RYLE, loc. cit., p. 204 sq.; WILDEBOER, The Origin of the Canon of the O. T., p. 176, sq.

[3] Cfr. EUSEBIUS, Eccles. Hist., Book VI, chap. 25.

[4] Cfr. quotations from Origen in St. Jerome, on Daniel, chaps. xiii, xiv. (Patr. Lat. vol. xxv).

The last difficulty to be mentioned here is drawn from the following fact: Side by side with the deutero-canonical books of the Old Testament, several ecclesiastical writers of the first three centuries use freely and quote as *Holy Writ* such apocryphal productions as the book of Enoch, the third and fourth books of Esdras, etc. Does not this seem to imply that in the early Church both the deutero-canonical and the apocryphal books enjoyed the same authority and were placed indiscriminately in the same collection of sacred books?

Our answer is briefly this: History proves indeed that for some time several early writers of the Church used freely a few apocryphal books, but it proves also that at no time any of these apocryphal writings was received by all the Churches of the East and the West, and read in public services together with the canonical books.[1] This is the reason for which these apocryphal productions soon fell into discredit, whilst the deutero-canonical writings continued in use side by side with the books of the Hebrew Bible.

§ 3. *The Fourth Century and First Part of the Fifth Century.*

1. Opposition to the Deutero-canonical Books. Strange to say, the well-nigh perfect unanimity of the ecclesiastical writers of the first three centuries in favor of the deutero-canonical books was not kept up during the fourth century of our era. In the East and in the West, several illustrious Doctors of the Church entertained serious doubts concerning the authority of the writings which were not found in the Hebrew Bible.

This is the case with St. ATHANASIUS, who, in his 39th

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[1] For detailed information about this point, see LOISY, Hist du Canon de l'A. Test., pp. 79–83.

Festal Epistle,[1] sets forth "the books included in the Canon and handed down, and accredited as divine," and excludes from their number all the deutero-canonical writings of the Old Testament, except Baruch. He further adds that beside these divine books, there are others "not indeed included in the Canon, but appointed by the Fathers to be read by those just joining us," to wit, "The Wisdom of Solomon, the Wisdom of Sirach (i. e. Ecclesiasticus), Esther, Judith, Tobias, and that which is called the Doctrine of the Apostles, and the Pastor or Shepherd." Finally, he rejects absolutely all "the apocryphal writings, as an invention of heretics."

Like-minded with St. Athanasius, and perhaps repeating his words, St. Gregory Nazianzen († 389) enumerates only the proto-canonical books (except Esther) and then adds: "If there be any beside these books, they are not genuine (οὐκ ἐν γνησίοις)."[2]

St. Cyril of Jerusalem (†386) is no less explicit against the deutero-canonical books, although he distinctly claims for the Christian Church the right to settle the Canon of the Sacred Scriptures. "Learn diligently," he says, "and from the Church, which are the books of the Old Testament and which of the New, and read not any of the apocryphal . . . Read the divine Scriptures, those twenty-two books which were translated by the seventy-two interpreters . . . Those only study and meditate which we read with confidence even in Church. Far wiser than thou and pious were the Apostles and the ancient bishops, the rulers of the Church who have handed down these: thou therefore, as a child of the Church, trench not on their established laws." Then he enumerates the twenty-two books of the Old Testament (that is, the books of the Hebrew Canon, to which he adds Baruch) and those of the New, and concludes with these significant words: "But all the rest, let them be put aside in the second rank; and what is not read in the churches, that read not thyself according as thou hast heard." [1]

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[1] A *Festal Epistle* was a pastoral letter put forth by the Archbishops of Alexandria to make known each year the exact date of the Paschal festival. The 39th Epistle of St. Athanasius goes back most likely to 367 A.D. We have only fragments of it.

[2] Cfr. Loisy, Canon de l'Ancien Testament, p. 104.

St. EPIPHANIUS († 403), Bishop of Constantia (Salamis) in Cyprus, is less explicit than either St. Athanasius or St. Cyril in his opposition to the deutero-canonical books, and this is why his exact view regarding them is still a matter of discussion among Catholic scholars. It seems difficult, however, not to admit with Hanneberg,[2] that he numbers them all (except Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus which he holds in special esteem) among the *apocryphal* writings of the Old Testament.[3]

As opposed to the full authority of the deutero-canonical books in the East, we may also mention the *Synopsis Athanasiana*, the Canon of St. BASIL of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia († 379 A.D.), the Iambic metres ascribed to St. AMPHILOCHIUS of Iconium († 395), the 85th *Canon of the Apostles*, and the 60th decree of the *Council of Laodicea* (A.D. 363).[4]

Such are the Eastern documents which, in a more or less explicit manner, assign to the deutero-canonical books a rank inferior to those of the Hebrew Bible, and which are still described by most Protestant writers as the witnesses of history against the Catholic Canon. It is certain, however, that they simply express the theoretical views of their authors, for, in practice, those same authors use freely both the proto- and the deutero-canonical writings of the Old Testament, and apply to both exactly the same language. St. Athanasius, for instance, "introduces Judith (viii, 16) with 'the Scripture said,' and Baruch (iii, 12) is cited as Scripture. Wisdom (vi, 26) has the epithet Scripture applied to it. Sirach (i. e. Ecclesiasticus) xv, 9 is introduced as 'what is said by the Holy Spirit.' Baruch (iv, 20, 22) and Daniel (xiii, 42) are referred to in the same way as Isaias. Tobias (ii, 7) has 'it is written' prefixed to it."[1]

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[1] Cfr. Catechetical Lectures, Lect. iv., §§ 33, 35, 36.

[2] Histoire de la Révélation Biblique, vol. ii, p. 387. Cfr. also TROCHON, Introduction, vol. i, p. 138; and a significant passage in CASSIODORUS († 570); (MIGNE, P. L. vol. lxx, cols. 1125, 1126.)

[3] Against Heresies, 8th Heresy, chap. vi.

[4] For the respective authority of these sources of information, see LOISY, Canon de l'A. T., and TROCHON, loc. cit.

St. Gregory Nazianzen quotes Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus several times in his theological works,[2] and St. Basil cites Judith (ix, 4).[3] St. Cyril of Jerusalem who took part in the Council of Laodicea "refers to Baruch (iii, 36–38) as *the prophet;* and in adducing the testimonies of the prophets for the existence of the Holy Spirit, the last he gives is Daniel xiii, 41, 45. Sirach (Ecclesiasticus) iii, 21, 22, is cited; Wisdom is quoted as Solomon's (xiii, 5); the song of the three children is used (verse 55) with verses 27, 29; and Daniel (xiii, 22, 45) is quoted."[4]

The practice of St. Epiphanius is likewise clear. He introduces Sirach (vii, 1) with "the Scripture testifies;" Wisdom (i, 4) is quoted as Solomon's; Baruch (iii, 36) is introduced with "as the Scripture says," and Daniel (xiii, 42) is quoted with "as it is written."[5]

It is plain, therefore, that however great may have been the difference admitted by these Eastern writers between the books of the Hebrew Bible and those found only in the Greek Bible, it did not influence much their practice. Their Bible was the Bible in universal use in the churches of their time and country. It was the Greek Bible, which had been transmitted to them by their predecessors, and which still contained both classes of books without the least distinction as to their respective authority. They were perfectly familiar with all its parts, and when they wished to edify the people or set forth proofs of revealed doctrine, they instinctively set aside their theoretical views regarding the Canon, and used indiscriminately all the books which were found in what they knew to be the Bible of the Church.

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[1] S. DAVIDSON, the Canon of the Bible, 3d edit., p. 177, sq.

[2] LOISY, loc. cit., p. 105.

[3] LOISY, ibid.

[4] DAVIDSON, loc. cit., p. 176.

[5] DAVIDSON, loc. cit., p. 181.

It was only natural that these speculative views so prevalent in the East should exercise some influence upon the mind of Western writers. In point of fact, three of these are pointed out as placing more or less explicitly the deutero-canonical books in a rank inferior to those of the Hebrew Canon. The first in date is St. HILARY of Poitiers († 368). In his commentary on the Psalms, which St. Jerome says was largely borrowed from Origen, the holy bishop reproduces Origen's catalogue of the Old Testament, that is, his list of the twenty-two books. Then he says, "Some have added Tobias and Judith, making twenty-four (books), after the letters of the Greek alphabet."[1]

Whether these obscure expressions of St. Hilary must be considered as an indorsement of the views of Origen regarding the Canon, cannot be defined. But it is beyond doubt that, in practice, the Bishop of Poitiers quotes both proto- and deutero-canonical books in exactly the same manner. "He cites Wisdom and Sirach (Ecclesiasticus) as 'prophets'; . . . II Machabees (vii, 28) is introduced with 'according to the prophet'; Wisdom is cited as Solomon's (viii, 2); Judith (xvi, 3 is cited); so is Baruch (iii, 36); and Daniel xiii, 42."[2]

Much more explicit than St. Hilary in his opposition to the deutero-canonical books is RUFINUS († 410), a priest of Aquileia, in Northern Italy. His aim is to enumerate all the books which "are believed to be inspired by the Holy

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[1] MIGNE, P. L. vol. ix, col. 241; cfr. the words of CASSIODORUS (MIGNE, P. L. vol. lxx, cols. 1125, 1126).

[2] DAVIDSON, Canon of the Bible, p. 193.

Spirit, according to the tradition of our ancestors and have been handed down by the Churches of Christ." He therefore gives all the books of the Hebrew Canon, and says "in his concluserunt numerum librorum Veteris Testamenti." Next, he specifies all the books of the New Testament and adds: "Hæc sunt quæ Patres intra canonem concluserunt et ex quibus fidei nostræ assertiones constare voluerunt." He further remarks that there are other books not canonical but ecclesiastical—Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Tobias, Judith and the books of the Machabees,—and of these he speaks as read in the churches "quæ omnia legi quidem in ecclesiis voluerunt," but not as authoritative in matters of faith "non tamen proferri ad auctoritatem ex his fidei confirmandam." [1]

The mind of Rufinus concerning the deutero-canonical books is therefore plain: they stand on a lower level than the books of the Hebrew Canon, because ecclesiastical tradition has so decided. It is true that he does not name "the Fathers who have limited the canonical books to those which are contained in the Hebrew Bible, and who have settled that these only should be used as authoritative in matters of faith," but we can easily make them out. His views and even words connect him directly with those Eastern Fathers to whom we have just referred as opposed to the deutero-canonical books, and whose opinion he had accepted during his prolonged sojourn in Egypt and Palestine. They appear to him to form a sort of tradition from which he thinks no one has a right to depart.[2] Yet, despite his theory, Rufinus uses the deutero-canonical books and treats them as divinely inspired Scriptures.[3]

This opposition of the priest of Aquileia to the books not found in the Hebrew Bible is fully shared by his great adversary, Sophronius Eusebius Hieronymus, better known under the name of St. Jerome († 420). Time and again, this illustrious Doctor of the Latin Church rejects the authority of the deutero-canonical books in the most explicit manner. Thus, in the preface[1] to his translation of the books of Kings (written in 391) he says "this prologue to the Scriptures may suit as a helmed preface to all the books which we have rendered from Hebrew into Latin; that we may know that whatever is beyond these must be reckoned among the *Apocrypha*. Therefore, the Wisdom of Solomon, as it is commonly entitled, and the book of the son of Sirach (Ecclesiasticus) and Judith, and Tobias, and the Shepherd are not in the Canon. . . ."

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[1] Commentary on the Symbol of the Apostles, §§ 36–38 (Patrol. Lat., vol. xxi, col. 374, sq.).

[2] Cfr. Loisy, loc. cit., p. 112; Vigouroux, Manuel Biblique, vol. i, n. 33; and Dictionnaire de la Bible, art. Canon, p. 154.

[3] Cfr. Cornely, larger Introductio, vol. i, p. 103.

In his epistle to Paulinus (about 394), he draws up a Canon of the Old Testament, without even mentioning the deutero-canonical books,[2] whilst in his preface to Esdras (394 A.D.), he says: "Let no one be astonished that we edited only one book (of Esdras); nor let him delight in the dreams found in the third and fourth apocryphal books of Esdras. For among the Hebrews the works of Esdras and Nehemias are united in one book, and what is not found in them, and among the twenty-four old men (that is, the twenty-four books of the Hebrew Canon) should be put aside and kept at a considerable distance from them."[3]

A few years later (in 398), he writes in his preface to the works of Solomon these strange words: "Moreover, there is the book πανάρετος of Jesus, the son of Sirach, and another pseudepigraph which is entitled the Wisdom of Solomon. . . . As the Church reads the books of Judith, and Tobias, and of the Machabees, but does not receive them among the canonical Scriptures, so also it reads these two books for the edification of the people, but not for the confirmation of revealed doctrine." [1]

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[1] It is commonly referred to under the name of *Prologus Galeatus* (Migne, Pat. Lat., tom. xxviii, col. 555, sq.).

[2] Migne, P. L., vol. xxii, col. 545, sq.

[3] Migne, P. L., vol. xxviii, col. 1403.

As might naturally be expected, the deutero-canonical parts of books are not better treated by St. Jerome than the entire books we have just heard him call *pseudepigraphic* and *uncanonical.* Thus the additions to Esther found in the Septuagint he severely qualifies as superfluous adjuncts and oratorical amplifications.[2] The fragments of Daniel have apparently for "the doctors of Greece" and for him, "nothing of the authority which attaches to Holy Writ;" [3] whilst in his preface to Jeremias (as late as the year 414), he says: "I did not feel bound to explain the small book of Baruch, which is usually added (to Jeremias) in the Septuagint, but is not found in the Hebrew, nor the pseudepigraphic epistle of Jeremias" (that is, chap. vi of Baruch in our Vulgate).[4]

It is true that, at times, the opposition of the illustrious Doctor to the deutero-canonical books seems to abate a little. It is most likely, however, that he acts thus through a motive of prudence, and he himself informs us that he has translated the book of Tobias "not to disobey the orders of bishops." [5] If we wish to have his full mind, we have only to read his private letter (written in 403) to a holy Roman matron named Læta. He mentions first the various books of Holy Writ in the order he wishes that her daughter should peruse them, and then he adds: "Let her distrust all the apocryphal books. If, however, she desires to read them, not indeed to draw from them arguments in favor of Christian doctrines, but simply for the sake of the miracles therein recorded, let her understand that they are not the work of those whose name they bear, that many mischievous things have crept into them, and that the utmost prudence is necessary to seek for gold in the mud."[1]

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[1] MIGNE, P. L., vol. xxviii, col. 1242, sq.

[2] MIGNE, ibid., col. 1433, sq.

[3] MIGNE, ibid, cols. 1292–1294.

[4] MIGNE, P. L., vol. xxv, cols. 492, 493.

[5] MIGNE, P. L., vol. xxix, col. 24, sq.

Finally, St. Jerome is the sole Father on record as quoting sometimes the deutero-canonical books with a restriction concerning their canonical character. Thus, in his commentary on Jonas (about 397), he quotes the book of Tobias "licet non habeatur in Canone, tamen quia usurpatur ab ecclesiasticis viris."[2] Again, in his commentary on Aggeus, he cites a passage of Judith with the significant remark: "Si quis tamen vult librum recipere mulieris."[3] In the same way, he introduces in his commentary on Zacharias, a quotation from Wisdom, by these words: "Si cui tamen placet librum recipere."[4]

Usually, however, he quotes the deutero-canonical books in the same manner as we have seen it done by Rufinus, St. Hilary, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, St. Athanasius, etc.: "In his letter to Eustochium, Sirach iii, 33, comes between citations from Matthew and Luke, and is introduced by 'which is written,' in a letter to Pammachius, whilst xxii, 6, of the same book has 'divine Scripture' applied to it. Ruth, Esther and Judith are spoken of as 'holy volumes.'"[5]

We are therefore entitled to conclude with such Catholic scholars as Corluy, S.J., Loisy, etc.,[6] that, as in the case of the other opponents of the deutero-canonical books, the practice of St. Jerome differs from his theory. His private view is strongly against the books or parts of books not found in the Hebrew Bible, and in so far he clearly witnesses to the existence of a restricted Canon. On the other hand, as he uses at times the deutero-canonical books, affirms that the Church reads some of them for the edification of the Christian people, translates himself a few of them because requested to do so by bishops, it is no less clear that he is aware of a fuller Canon than that of the Jews, and that he remains a strong, though involuntary witness, to a Canon which is still that of the Christian Church.

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[1] Migne, P. L., vol. xxii, col. 876, sq.
[2] Migne, P. L., vol. xxv, col. 1119.
[3] Migne, P. L., vol. xxv, col. 1394.
[4] Migne, P. L., vol. xxv, col. 1465.
[5] Davidson, Canon of the Bible, p. 191, sq.
[6] For a different view, see Franzelin and Cornely.

2. Arguments in Favor of the Deutero-canonical Books. Whatever reasons may be set forth to explain this theoretical deviation from tradition on the part of the illustrious Doctors of the fourth century to whom we have just referred,[1] it remains true that the practical use which they make of the deutero-canonical books goes right against their speculative views. In theory, they claim a higher authority for the books of the Hebrew Bible ; in practice, they quote indiscriminately (except at times, St. Jerome) from both the proto- and deutero-canonical writings, and apply to them all the sacred name of *Scripture.* They clearly know "of a Jewish and a Christian Canon in relation to the Old Testament ; the latter wider than the former ; their private opinion being more favorable to the one, though the other was historically transmitted."[2] It would therefore be difficult to find a stronger proof that the Alexandrian Canon still continued to be the one found in the Bible which was commonly used and quoted in the Christian Church.[3]

To this first argument in favor of the deutero-canonical books may be added another hardly less convincing. It is derived from the positive and direct testimony of the catalogues of canonical books which were drawn up during this same period. Leaving aside the list of the Sacred Scriptures ascribed by some to the Council of Nice, and that referred to Pope St. Damasus, because their genuineness seems doubtful, we shall mention first the important document which was recently published by Th. Mommsen (in 1886) and which goes back to about the middle of the fourth century A.D. It claims to be "a list of the *canonical* books of the Old Testament," and it includes both the proto- and the deutero-canonical books in its enumeration.[1] A similar list, a little later in date, but of greater importance because of its official character, is that which was drawn up in the Council of Hippo, in 393, and was promulgated over again by the third and sixth Councils of Carthage, held in 397 and 419 respectively. The Fathers of these Councils decree first "that none but canonical Scriptures shall be read in Church under the name of divine Scriptures." Next, they distinctly enumerate the books which they call "canonical Scriptures," and among these are found all the deutero-canonical writings of the Old Testament.

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[1] These reasons are well given by LOISY, Canon de l'A. T., pp. 121–124 ; CHAUVIN, Leçons d'Introduction Générale, pp. 124–128.

[2] S. DAVIDSON, the Canon of the Bible, p. 171 sq.

[3] Cfr. MALOU, Lecture de la Ste Bible en langue Vulgaire, vol. ii, p. 150 ; and CORLUY, S.J., in JAUGEY, Dictionnaire apologétique de la foi Catholique, art. Canon, p. 368, sq.

Finally, they declare their desire that the Pope occupying at the time the See of St. Peter, confirm their canon, "for," say they, "these are the books which the Fathers have transmitted to us for public reading at church."[2]

Perhaps the reader will be somewhat surprised that the African bishops gathered in council, should have felt the need to promulgate the fuller Alexandrian Canon no less than three times within the short period of thirty years, and to appeal repeatedly to the Sovereign Pontiff for a confirmation of their decree; but a sufficient explanation of this may be found in the circumstances of the time. On the one hand,

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[1] See that Catalogue in VIGOUROUX, Dictionnaire de la Bible, art. Canon, p. 152.

[2] Cfr. DENZINGER, Enchiridion Symbolorum et Definitionum; also CORNELY, larger Introductio, vol. I, p. 85.

St. Jerome, the greatest biblical scholar of the day, had publicly declared himself in 390, 394 and 405 A.D. favorable to the limited Canon of the Hebrew Bible ; and on the other hand, St. Augustine, the opponent of St. Jerome on many scriptural topics, admitted the Alexandrian Canon,[1] and was doing his utmost to have it distinctly recognized by his colleagues in the African episcopate. Finally, it was well known that St. Jerome had made a long residence in Rome, where he had been a personal friend of Pope St. Damasus († 384), so that it was deemed desirable to secure from Rome itself a formal approval of the fuller Canon, in order to prevent all supposition that he had borrowed from the Roman Church his views concerning the Hebrew Canon.

The last official catalogue of the Western Church to be mentioned here in favor of the deutero-canonical books is the list of the sacred writings which Pope St. INNOCENT I sent in 405 A.D., to St. Exsuperius, Bishop of Toulouse, in Southern Gaul. The latter was a personal friend and correspondent of St. Jerome, and the bold expressions of the great biblical scholar against the deutero-canonical books had greatly shaken his belief in their authority. He therefore consulted Pope St. Innocent about " the books admitted in the Canon," and received from him a list which comprised all the writings of the Alexandrian Canon.[2]

It is in vain that we would look for equally explicit catalogues in favor of the deutero-canonical books on the part of the Eastern Church. Two things, however, are well known as favorable to them. First, the Greek churches continued to use the Septuagint Version which always contained the deutero-canonical books mingled with those of the Hebrew Canon,[3] and next, as stated above, the leading ecclesiastical writers of the East ever quoted as *Scripture* both classes of books.

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[1] Cfr. St. AUGUSTINE, on Christian Doctrine, Book ii, chap. viii.

[2] Cfr. MIGNE, Patr. Lat., vol. xx, cols. 501, 502.

[3] This is proved by the contents of the Greek manuscripts of that period, such as the

A last argument in favor of the deutero-canonical books is drawn from the usage made of them by the Syrian Fathers, notably by St. CHRYSOSTOM († 407) and THEODORET († about 458), the two greatest representatives of the Antiochian school. "They use the apocryphal (i. e. the deutero-canonical) books freely, and without distinguishing them from the books of the Hebrew Canon. Thus Chrysostom, to take only one example, quotes passages from *Baruch*, *Ecclesiasticus*, and *Wisdom* as divine Scripture."[1]

Vaticanus, the *Sinaiticus*, the *Alexandrinus* and the *Ephræmiticus*, and also by the contents of the *Æthiopic* and *Armenian* versions of Holy Writ which were made from Greek manuscripts.

[1] WESTCOTT, The Bible in the Church, p. 175. As regards *Aphraates* (about 340 A. D.) and St. *Ephrem* († 378), see LOISY, Canon de l'A. T., pp. 109, 110; and CHAUVIN, Leçons d'Introduction, p. 118, sq.

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER III.

The Canon of the Old Testament in the Christian Church.

Section II. From the Middle of the Fifth Century to our Day.

- I. From the Middle of Fifth Century to the Tenth Century:
  - In the East, especially among the Greeks (The Trullan Council).
  - In the West (Italy; Transalpine Countries; North Africa).

- II. The Middle Ages:
  - The twofold opinion current in the Western Church; how accounted for.
  - The Council of Florence.

- III. From the Sixteenth Century to our Day:
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    - Opposition of some Catholic scholars to the deutero-canonical books.
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  - 2. The Council of Trent:
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  - 3. Since the Council of Trent:
    - Attitude of Catholics:
      - General acceptance of deutero-canonical books; yet, isolated opposition to them.
    - Action of Protestants:
      - Public Confessions and theological works.
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CHAPTER III.

THE CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

SECTION II. FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE FIFTH CENTURY TO OUR DAY.

§ 1. *From the Middle of the Fifth Century to the Tenth Century.*

IT would be a long and tedious task to record and examine in detail each of the testimonies, either favorable or opposed to the deutero-canonical books from the middle of the fifth century to the tenth century of our era. Naturally enough, most of them simply reproduce the tradition of the past, and only a few exhibit features of permanent interest. Our survey of the East and of the West during this period will therefore be very rapid, and will refer chiefly to the testimonies of real importance.

1. **The Canon in the East.** The first important fact to be noticed here, is connected with the two great Oriental sects known in history as the *Nestorians* and the *Monophysites*. At the time of their separation from the Church in the fifth century, they possessed both the proto- and the deutero-canonical writings, and, as far as can be ascertained, they ever since kept both.[1]

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[1] Cfr. ASSEMANI, Bibliotheca Orientalis, tom. iii; CORNELY, larger Introductio, vol. i, p. 113, sq. The Syrian Version made about 616 A.D. by Paul of Tella, contained also the full Canon.

Another fact of hardly less importance in the history of the Canon of the Old Testament, is connected with the Greek Church. Towards the end of the seventh century, the Council *in Trullo*[1] laid down positions which gradually fixed the Canon for the Greeks on the basis of the Alexandrian Canon. It did not indeed enumerate the separate books of Holy Writ, but referred to older authorities, which included among others the eighty-five Canons of the Apostles[2] and the decrees of the Council of Carthage. As the former reckoned three books of the Machabees, and the latter contained all the books of the Alexandrian Canon, the Greeks, anxious not to omit from their list of sacred books any writing which had even the indirect sanction of the Council *in Trullo*, soon framed a Canon which appears as more than complete in our judgment. Thus did it come to pass that their catalogue of sacred writings has contained one book (viz., the third book of the Machabees) over and above those of the Western Church.

As might naturally be expected, a few Doctors of the East, imitating in this some of their illustrious predecessors, held private views on the Canon, or rather borrowed them from the great Fathers of the fourth century. This is the case with LEONTIUS of Byzantium (about 600 A.D.), who, in his work, *On the Sects*, gives a Canon clearly identical with that of St. Athanasius.[3] In like manner, St. JOHN DAMASCENE († 754) records a catalogue[4] which seems borrowed from St. Epiphanius, as may be inferred from the following facts: (1) He enumerates the same twenty-two books; (2) he arranges them in the same general order;

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[1] Thus named from a hall in the imperial palace at Constantinople, called τροῦλλος.

[2] The text of these Canons is found in COTELIER, Patr. Apost., vol. i. The list of sacred books is at page 448 of the 2d Antwerp edition, 1700 A. D.

[3] LOISY, Canon de l'Ancien Testament, p. 137; TROCHON, Introduction Générale, vol. i, p. 160, sq.

[4] On the Orthodox Faith, Book iv, chap. xvii.

and (3), like St. Epiphanius, he closes his list with this peculiar remark: "The wisdom of Solomon, and Jesus, son of Sirach (i. e. Ecclesiasticus), are indeed beautiful and excellent works; yet they are not numbered with the others, and in olden times they were not preserved in the Ark."[1] Finally, it is also probable that Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople († 828), gives an incomplete Canon of the sacred books, because he conforms his theoretical views to those of some one or other of the illustrious Fathers of the past.[2]

2. The Canon in the West. It was only natural that the tradition of the Church regarding the Canon of Holy Writ should be kept, during this period, even more faithfully in the West than in the East. As we have seen in our last chapter, only a few Western writers had been really influenced by the Eastern opponents of the deutero-canonical books, and it would take a considerable time before the prefaces and other writings of St. Jerome could tell effectively against what had ever been considered the received Canon of the Roman Church and of the Western churches at large. In point of fact, until the ninth century, papal lists,[3] contents of manuscripts,[4] ecclesiastical writings, whether of Italy, Spain, or England,[5] witness generally in favor of the full Alexandrian Canon. It cannot be denied, however, that even before the ninth century, Pope St. Gregory the Great († 604) seems to have been influenced by St. Jerome's views against the deutero-canonical books, for he calls them "books which, though not canonical, are received for the edification of the Church."[1] To the same influence we can also trace back these words of PRIMASIUS, Bishop of Adrumetum, in his commentary on the Apocalypse: "The twenty-four elders are the books of the Old Testament, which we receive of that number as possessing canonical authority."[2]

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[1] Cfr St. Epiphanius, de Ponderibus et Mensuris, § 4.

[2] See Loisy, loc. cit., pp. 145-149; Trochon, Introduction Générale, vol. i, p. 161.

[3] Those ascribed to Popes St. Hilary († 468), St. Gelasius († 496), St. Hormisdas († 523)

[4] Such as the *Amiatinus*, the *Toletanus*, etc.

[5] Those of Dionysius Exiguus († 536), and Cassiodorus († 562), in Italy; of St. Isidore of Seville († 636): St. Eugenius of Toledo († 657); of St. Ildefonsus of Toledo († 669), in Spain; of Ven. Bede († 735), in England; etc.

The ninth century presents, of course, numerous and valuable testimonies in favor of the deutero-canonical books. But it offers, at the same time, clear proofs that the views of St. Jerome against them were gaining ground in the Western Church, while their admission into the *Glossa Ordinaria* of Walafrid Strabo († 849), gave them a currency sure to tell powerfully, and in a near future, against the full Alexandrian Canon. In fact, it was at this juncture that, in a letter to the bishops of Gaul (in 865), Pope Nicholas I felt it needful to remind them that one of his predecessors, St. Innocent I, had formerly enacted a decree in favor of all the books of the Old and of the New Testaments.[3]

§ 2. *The Middle Ages.*

1. The Twofold Opinion Current in the Western Church. At no other period in the history of the Canon of the Old Testament do we find such an array of ecclesiastical writers against the full authority of the deutero-canonical books as in the Middle Ages. The best known among them, or most decided in their opposition, are NOTKER, the librarian of St. Gall († 912); RUPERT, Abbot of Deutz, near Cologne († 1135); HUGO of St. Victor († 1140);

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[1] Cfr. MIGNE, P. L., vol. lxxvii, col. 119. The view adopted in the text is that of Vigouroux, Trochon, Loisy, etc.

[2] Cfr. MIGNE, P. L., vol. lxviii, col. 818.

[3] Cfr. LOISY, Canon de l'A. T., pp. 151-158.

PETER the Venerable, Abbot of Clugny († 1156); JOHN of Salisbury, Bishop of Chartres († 1180); the Dominican and Cardinal HUGO a S. Caro († 1263); the Franciscan NICHOLAS de Lyra († 1340); and finally, the famous WILLIAM OCKHAM († 1347).[1] Side by side with those opponents of the deutero-canonical books, lived men no less numerous and no less decided in favor of the books which were not found in the Hebrew Bible. The principal witnesses in their favor are the celebrated LUITPRAND, Bishop of Cremona († 972); BURCHARD of Worms (about 1020), and GRATIAN († 1155), in their collections of the sacred canons; St. STEPHEN HARDING, Abbot of Cîteaux, together with GISLEBERT, Abbot of Westminster at the beginning of the twelfth century; PETER of Riga, and GILLES of Paris, towards the end of the same century; and in the next, STEPHEN LANGTON, Archbishop of Canterbury († 1228); St. BONAVENTURA († 1274), and ALBERTUS MAGNUS († 1282); finally, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, THOMAS of Walden († 1430), and JOHN of Ragusa († 1450). From this simple enumeration of the principal opponents and defenders of the deutero-canonical books, it may readily be inferred that since their series keeps on from century to century, we are in presence of a twofold opinion current in the churches of the West, the one favorable to the writings which were not found in the Hebrew Bible, the other ascribing to them only an inferior authority.

If now we inquire into the causes of this persistent division between the ecclesiastical writers of the Middle Ages, we shall find that its main, if not its exclusive, cause, is the influence which the views of St. Jerome exercised upon the minds of many Doctors of that period. Not only were his opinions against the deutero-canonical books, circulated by means of the *Glossa Ordinaria*, but his *Prologus Galeatus* that "helmed preface," in which he declares himself so strongly against all the books not found in the Hebrew Text, had become the necessary introduction to every manuscript of the Vulgate. His prefaces to the other books were also extensively circulated, and read together with the sacred text.[1] Nay more, as they were the work of a great saint whom God had raised to supply His Church with a version of the Holy Writ, and whom, as many supposed, the Holy Spirit had guided in a special manner in translating the sacred text, they at times shared to some extent in the reverence borne to the Word of God.[2] More usually, of course, these prefaces were treated simply as the work of an illustrious man. But even then, their authority appeared supreme in the eyes of many, for they had been composed by the greatest biblical scholar of the past, by the writer best acquainted with the ancient traditions of the East and of the West. It is not therefore to be wondered at, if the views so unfavorable to the deutero-canonical books which these prefaces contained, seemed tenable to many schoolmen, and were, in fact, held by them, in the teeth of contrary practice in the Church, and of disciplinary decrees of the Pope. Finally, as it was the fashion of the time to get rid of difficulties by means of subtle distinctions, several ecclesiastical writers saw easily their way to reconcile the statements of St. Jerome, in his prefaces, with the papal decrees and the practice of the Church. They readily granted two things, viz.: (1) That the Popes had ordered the reception of certain books not found in the Hebrew Bible, because they were "true and divine"; and (2), that for the same motive the Church had received them and continued to use them in her public services. But they denied that these two things conflicted in any way with the statements of the holy Doctor, inasmuch as his words referred only to the *canonical* character of all such books. They thought, therefore, that the positions of St. Jerome were perfectly tenable, and, in consequence, they spoke of the books which were not found in the Hebrew Bible as "true and divine," as "received by the Church," as "good and to be received," etc., etc., while they refused to ascribe to them the full dignity and authority of *canonical* writings.

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[1] See their testimonies in CORNELY, larger Introductio, pp. 123-132; LOISY, loc. cit., pp. 164-178; and WESTCOTT, The Bible in the Church, pp. 198, sqq.

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[1] Cfr. UDALRIC, Consuetudines Cluniacenses, in MIGNE, P. L., vol. cxlix, cols. 643, 644.

[2] Cfr. CORNELY, larger Introductio, vol. i, p. 122.

Over against the authority of St. Jerome, the defenders of the deutero-canonical books set now that of St. Augustine, and now that of the Popes whose decrees were clearly in their favor and had been embodied in the great collections of ecclesiastical Canons. It was also easy for them to appeal to the undeniable fact that, despite all the theories of their opponents, these books had ever been and still continued to be used for liturgical, doctrinal and exegetical purposes, in exactly the same manner as the books found in the Hebrew Bible. Finally, they naturally felt, and indeed were not slow to affirm, that to the Church alone belonged the right to declare which books made up the Christian Canon, and that she had plainly and repeatedly counted among her canonical books others beside those of the Hebrew Bible.

2. The Council of Florence. It was this tradition of the Church which was urged by JOHN of Ragusa († 1450) in one of the sessions of the Council of Basle, when he said: *Libri qui apud Judæos in auctoritate non habentur. . . . Qui tamen apud nos in eadem veneratione et auctoritate habentur sicut et ceteri; et hoc utique nonnisi ex traditione et acceptatione universalis Ecclesiæ catholicæ, quibus contradicere nullo modo licet pertinaciter.*[1] It was this same ecclesiastical tradition which was solemnly proclaimed a little later in the Council of Florence, when Eugenius IV, with the approval of the Fathers of that assembly,[1] declared all the books found in the Latin Bibles then in use to be inspired by the same Holy Spirit, without distinguishing them into two classes or categories. He enumerated Tobias and Judith between Nehemias and Esther; Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus between Canticle of Canticles and Isaias; Baruch before Ezechiel, and two books of the Machabees at the end of the Old Testament.

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[1] LABBE, Acta Conciliorum, vol. viii, col. 1751 (Paris edit., 1714 A.D.).

Two things should be noticed in connection with this document which professes to voice the belief of the whole Church. First, it is plain "that the Church of Rome concerned herself very little with the caprices or the theories of her great writers (of the Middle Ages), and continued to walk with a firm step in the path marked out by the ancient usages of her ritual."[2] Next, the bull of Eugenius IV did not deal with the *canonicity* of the books which were not found in the Hebrew Text, but simply proclaimed their *inspiration*, so that even after its promulgation one would not go against the official teaching of the Church in reserving the title of *canonical* for the books of the Hebrew Bible, provided he distinctly acknowledged as *inspired* all the books enumerated by the Council.

In point of fact, during the second part of the fifteenth century, that is, after the close of the Council of Florence, some ecclesiastical writers, such as ALPHONSUS TOSTAT, Bishop of Avila († 1455), St. ANTONINUS, Archbishop of Florence († 1459), and DIONYSIUS the Carthusian († 1471), continued to hold the views of St. Jerome against the deutero-canonical books.[3]

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[1] The genuineness of the bull of Eugenius IV has been wrongly assailed by Bleek and Westcott. Cfr. LABBE, Acta Conciliorum, vol. ix, col. 1021, sq.; and THEINER, Acta Genuina Concilii Tridentini, vol. i, pp. 68, 70.

[2] REUSS, History of the Canon of Holy Scripture, p. 269 (Engl. Transl.).

[3] Cfr. LOISY, Canon de l'Ancien Testament, pp. 180–183.

§ 3. *From the Sixteenth Century to our Day.*

1. Beginning of the Sixteenth Century. As in the latter part of the preceding century, so in the beginning of the sixteenth century, do we find some Catholic scholars opposed to the books which were not contained in the Hebrew Text. The first among these is the illustrious Spaniard, Cardinal Ximenes († 1517). In the preface to his magnificent edition of the Bible in several languages called the *Polyglot* of Ximenes, he reproduces the passages of St. Jerome against the deutero-canonical books of the Old Testament. "The books," he writes, "which are without the Canon, which the Church receives rather for the edification of the people than for the establishment of ecclesiastical doctrines are given only in Greek, but in a double translation."[1] Another opponent of the deutero-canonical books during this period is the celebrated humanist, ERASMUS († 1536). He does not indeed declare himself openly against them, but his manner of referring to their rejection by the ancients, and of speaking of his own uncertainty as to the real mind of the Church regarding the whole matter, etc., shows beyond doubt that his vague expressions are due exclusively to his desire not to compromise himself in the eyes of his ecclesiastical superiors.[2] Far less guarded are the words of his contemporary, the Dominican THOMAS de Vio, better known under the name of Cardinal CAJETAN († 1534). At the end of his commentary on the book of Esther, the outspoken cardinal writes: "In this place, we close our commentaries on the historical books of the Old Testament, for the remaining books (Judith, Tobias, I and II Machabees) are reckoned by St. Jerome without the canonical books and placed among the Apocrypha together with Wisdom and

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[1] WESTCOTT, The Bible in the Church, p. 249.

[2] LOISY, loc. cit., p. 183; WESTCOTT, loc. cit., p. 252, sq.

Ecclesiasticus. . . . Nor must you be disturbed by the strangeness of the fact, if you shall anywhere find these books reckoned among the canonical books, either in the sacred Councils or in the holy Doctors. For the language of Councils and Doctors must alike be revised by the judgment of Jerome; and according to his opinion those books and any others there may be like them in the Canon of the Bible, are not canonical in the sense of establishing points of faith; yet they can be called canonical for the edification of the faithful, inasmuch as they are received in the Canon of the Bible for this purpose, and treated with respect. For with this distinction, you will be able to understand the words of Augustine, and what was written in the Florentine Council under Eugenius IV, and what was written in the provincial councils of Carthage and Laodicea, and by Popes Innocent and Gregory."[1]

While Cardinal Cajetan was showing himself so opposed to the deutero-canonical books and to the traditional arguments in their favor, LUTHER († 1546) and the other early reformers ZWINGLI († 1531), ŒCOLAMPADIUS († 1531), BODENSTEIN de Carlstadt († 1541), and CALVIN († 1564)—were taking a still more radical stand against them. In their desire to do away with every authority distinct from Holy Writ, they claimed that, independently of Church and tradition, a book proves itself to the regenerated man as truly containing the Word of God, and worthy to be numbered among the canonical Scriptures. Of course it was no easy task to point out the manner in which a book proves itself inspired to the individual believer; this, however, was attempted, though with but little success. Each one, according to Luther, can judge of the canonical character of a book by the value of its teachings concerning God and man's salvation; that is to say, by its degree of conformity with the system of justification by faith alone. Of this theory of the father of the Reformation, Westcott himself, a Protestant writer, says: "No Church could rest on a theory which made private feeling the supreme authority as to doctrine and the source of doctrine. As a natural consequence, the later Lutherans abandoned the teaching of their great master on the written Word."[1]

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[1] The passage is found in CORNELY, larger Introductio, vol. i, p. 135.

Nor was the test of canonicity devised by Calvin found to work better in practice. He maintained that "the authority of Scripture is to be grounded on something higher than human reasonings or proofs or conjectures, viz., on the inner witness of the Holy Spirit."[2] And again he says: "As to their question (the question of his Catholic opponents) how are we to know that the Scriptures came from God if we cannot refer to the decree of the Church, we might as well ask how we are to learn to distinguish light from darkness, white from black, bitter from sweet."[3] This test of Calvin has indeed commended itself to many minds outside the Church during the last centuries, but only in theory. For, as Reuss justly remarks, "the conscientious historian cannot help showing that this theory . . . has proved to be insufficient in practice, and that those who formulated it were the first to diverge from it, and to drift into strange inconsistencies."[4]

Whatever may be thought of the practical value of these tests of canonicity invented by the early reformers, it is beyond doubt that they and their associates rejected from the first, and with remarkable unanimity, all the deutero-canonical books of the Old Testament. In their editions of the Bible—German and French alike—these books were placed apart, with a special collective title, and usually with some such notices as the following: "Here are the books which are not numbered by the ancients among the biblical writings and which are not found in the Hebrew Canon;"[1] or "Apocrypha, that is books which are not held as of equal authority with Holy Writ, but which are useful and good for reading."[2] Again, in a whole series of Bibles of this period, we read the following passage: "These books called the Apocrypha were at all times distinguished from those which were without difficulty held to be the Holy Scriptures. . . . It is true that they are not to be despised, inasmuch as they contain good and useful doctrine. At the same time, it is very right that what was given by the Holy Spirit should have pre-eminence above what came from men."[3]

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[1] Westcott, The Bible in the Church, p. 265.

[2] Cfr. Reuss, History of the Canon of Holy Scripture, p. 302 (Engl. Transl.).

[3] Cfr. Reuss, ibid, p. 295.

[4] Ibid, p. 307.

These and other such notices have much historical significance. They prove, first of all, that though the reformers and their early adherents denied the inspiration of the deutero-canonical books, still they did not see their way to exclude them absolutely from the Bible. In presence of the usage and tradition of past ages, they deemed it advisable to make a compromise between theory and practice, and in so far they were the real, though unwilling, witnesses to the faith and reverence which these books had ever enjoyed in the Church before the Reformation.

In the second place, these notices point clearly to the real standard of canonicity which the early reformers followed when they separated the deutero-canonical books from the others, denied their inspiration and refused them the title of canonical. "Was it really in virtue of the sovereign principle of the inward testimony of the Holy Spirit? Would it be quite true to say that the first Protestant theologians, while unmoved by the enthusiastic eloquence of the author of Wisdom, so much extolled by the Alexandrians, felt the breath of God in the genealogies of Chronicles, or the topographical catalogues of the book of Josue? Did they really find so great a difference between the miracles of the Chaldean Daniel and those of the Greek Daniel that they felt bound to remove two chapters from the volume which bears Daniel's name? I have some difficulty in believing that they arrived at the *distinction* they drew by any test of that kind. On the other hand, it is very simple to suppose, or rather, it is very easy to prove, from their own declarations, that their purpose was to re-establish the Canon of the Old Testament in its primitive purity, such as it must have existed, according to common opinion, among the ancient Jews—i. e., as we know it in our Hebrew Bibles. As an actual fact, they do not fail to invoke the custom of the HEBREWS in the notices of which I have given extracts. . . . Their procedure was exactly that which in principle they had condemned; they implicitly acknowledged the authority of tradition, and thus returned to the very position which they had loftily declared their intention of quitting as untenable." [1]

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[1] This inscription is found in the Bibles of Zurich, the oldest that are complete (1529 A.D.); REUSS, ibid, p, 307.

[2] Notice found in the Lutheran Bibles of 1534 A.D.; cfr. WESTCOTT, The Bible in the Church, p. 262.

[3] Notice in the Genevan Bibles quoted by REUSS, loc. cit., p. 308, sq.

Finally, these notices bear witness to the instinctive hatred which all the early reformers felt against the tradition and authority of the Church. They all agreed in rejecting the value of the deutero-canonical books, because it appeared in their eyes to be grounded exclusively on that same tradition and authority. Indeed, the expressions used in many of the notices with which they headed the so-called Apocrypha, and in which they strove to justify their conduct concerning them, were such as to produce upon the mind of the reader the impression that these books had been rejected after the tradition and authority of the Church in their favor had been tested and had proved wanting.

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[1] REUSS, History of the Canon of the Holy Scripture, p 312, sq.

2. The Council of Trent. In presence of these bold and repeated denials by Protestants of the inspired character of books which the Church had always regarded as sacred and truly divine, it was only natural that the question of the Canon and of the deutero-canonical books should be taken up and settled in one of the early sessions of the Council of Trent. In point of fact scarcely had all the Fathers of the Council solemnly proclaimed their assent to "the symbol of faith professed by the Church of Rome," when they began to examine the question "of the Reception of the Sacred Books."

It was on the 11th of February, 1546, that the Fathers divided into three sections, called *Particular Congregations* and presided over by the three cardinal presidents of the Council, discussed the "manner in which the books of Holy Writ should be received."[1] A few members of the second section thought that it was necessary to distinguish among the books received "those that were authentic and canonical and on which our faith depended, and those that are only canonical, good for teaching and useful for reading in churches, after several writers and St. Jerome in his *Prologus Galeatus*." The motion was defeated by the vote of the Fathers not only in this Particular Congregation, but also in the general meeting of the three sections[2] that was held the following day, for the majority decided that "no distinction should be made among the sacred books and that the question should be left, as it had been left by the Holy Fathers."[3] On the 15th of February, the Fathers of the Council gathered again in a General Congregation decided that the sacred books

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[1] Cfr A. THEINER, Acta Genuina Concil. Trid., p. 49.

[2] These general meetings were called *General Congregations*.

[3] Cfr. THEINER, loc. cit., p. 51, sq.

"should be received purely and simply and enumerated as in the Council of Florence without stating the grounds in their favor." They also discussed the question "whether all the sacred books should be received *æqualiter et pari reverentia*, although there is a great difference among them." The majority seems to have preferred the expression *pari pietatus affectu* instead of the word *æqualiter*.[1]

On March 22d, a project of decree "On the Reception of the Sacred Books and Apostolical Traditions" was distributed to the Fathers, and its discussion in General Congregations began a few days later (March 27th). The text of the intended decree was sharply criticised in several of its parts, and the opinions were so divergent that in order to secure some manner of agreement, it was resolved to draw up a schedule of the debated points on which the Fathers would be expected to vote by *Placet* or *Non Placet* in the next General Congregation (April 1st).

One of the debated questions (the fourth on the schedule) had been suggested by the fact that the projected decree simply reproduced the list of the sacred books (proto- and deutero-canonical included), which had been received at Florence, and made no reference to apocryphal writings such as the third and fourth books of Esdras, etc., which had hitherto been transcribed together with the inspired writings. The question was, therefore, "should these apocryphal productions be excluded positively by the terms of the decree, or should they simply be passed over in silence"?[2] Forty-one Fathers voted for passing them over in silence, four were in favor of mentioning expressly their rejection, eight hesitated.[3]

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[1] Cfr. Theiner, loc. cit., p. 52. The expression "pari pietatis affectu" appears in the final form of the decree, instead of the word "æqualiter."

[2] Cfr. Theiner, loc. cit., p. 72. This is clearly the meaning of the fourth question although Loisy, loc. cit., p. 200, sq., understands it differently.

[3] Cfr. Theiner, loc. cit., p. 77.

The tenth question asked "whether the words *pro sacris et canonicis* found in the decree should be maintained." The majority of the Fathers replied in the affirmative, while they all returned a negative answer to the thirteenth question, which ran as follows: "Does the Holy Synod wish for a fresh discussion of points already decided in general meetings, as for instance not to distinguish between the received books, to enumerate them in the same manner as the Council of Florence, etc.?"

On April 5th, the amended project of decree was submitted to the Fathers in a General Congregation. During the discussion, some of them expressed the wish that a difference should be indicated between the sacred books. But their view could not, of course, prevail over the decision to the contrary which had been already reached in a General Congregation.[1]

The following day the revised decree underwent a last discussion in the Particular Congregations. In the course of the discussion the Bishop of Castelamare, a member of the second section, exclaimed: "The words *pro sacris et canonicis* do not meet with my approval, because the book of Judith and some others are not found in the Canon of the Jews: I wish it would be said that they are in the Canon of the Church." Whereupon, the Cardinal of Holy Cross, who presided over the section, said: "Your remark is quite correct; but we follow the Canon of the Church and not that of the Jews. In calling these books canonical we have therefore in view the Canon of the Church: this is why the words *prout in Vulgata latina editione habentur* have been inserted in the decree."[2]

On April 8th, two months after the question of the Canon had been submitted to the Council, the decree was voted in the fourth solemn session. It ran as follows:

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[1] Cfr. THEINER, loc. cit., p. 84.

[2] THEINER, loc. cit., p. 86.

"The sacred and holy, œcumenical, and general Synod of Trent . . . keeping this always in view, that errors being removed, the purity itself of the Gospel be preserved in the Church . . . and seeing clearly that this truth . . . is contained in the written books . . .; following the examples of the orthodox Fathers receives and venerates with an equal feeling of piety (*pari pietatis affectu*) and reverence all the books of the Old and of the New Testament, seeing that God is the Author of both. . . .

"And it has thought it meet that a list of the sacred books be inserted in this decree, lest a doubt may arise in any one's mind, which are the books that are received by this Synod. They are as set down here below:

"Of the Old Testament: The five books of Moses . . . Josue, Judges, Ruth, four books of Kings, two of Paralipomenon, the first book of Esdras, and the second which is entitled Nehemias; Tobias, Judith, Esther, Job, the Davidic Psalter; the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Canticle of Canticles, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Isaias, Jeremias, with Baruch; Ezechiel, Daniel; the twelve minor prophets . . .; two books of the Machabees, the first and the second. . . .

. . . .

"But if any one receive not, as sacred and canonical, the said books entire with all their parts, and as they have been used to be read in the Catholic Church and as they are contained in the old Latin Vulgate edition . . . let him be anathema.

"Let all, therefore, understand . . . what testimonies and authorities (*præsidiis*) the said Synod will mainly use in confirming dogmas, and in restoring morals in the Church."[1]

By this dogmatic decree the Fathers of Trent clearly defined the canonicity of the deutero-canonical books and parts of books of the Old Testament, and did away with every difference in that respect between them and the books found in the Hebrew Bible. Leaving aside the question whether the sacred books differ from one another in other respects, such as for instance their usefulness for proving dogma,[1] they solemnly declare that all the books of the Catholic Bible being inspired must be "received as sacred and canonical." As agreed upon in their meetings, they simply enumerate the books as had been done in the Council of Florence, and their list is identical with that of Eugenius IV. Finally, it is plain both from their previous meetings and from their final wording of the decree, that the Fathers of Trent simply wish to affirm solemnly against the errors of the time, the ancient faith of the Church concerning the books of Holy Writ.

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[1] We have quoted only those passages of the decree which have a reference to the books of the Old Testament.

Viewed from this standpoint, the decree of Trent must ever appear fully justified in the light of impartial history. As was shown briefly in the foregoing pages, the deutero-canonical books were never treated in the Christian Church as mere human compositions. From the Apostolic Age down to the middle of the fifth century they were used in public services, quoted in the same manner as the proto-canonical books, called *Holy Scripture*, and ecclesiastical tradition became gradually so strong in their favor that St. Jerome himself turned out to be its real, though unwilling, witness. So was it likewise in the following centuries and throughout the Middle Ages, despite the powerful influence of St. Jerome's views upon the minds of many ecclesiastical writers of that period. So was it finally, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when, as we have seen, even the early reformers thought it advisable to make a compromise between theory and practice, and not to reject absolutely from their Bibles, books which the tradition of ages had surrounded with so much faith and reverence. And let it be borne in mind that, in appealing to tradition as a sure means of determining which books were really inspired and hence canonical, the Fathers of Trent resorted to no new test of canonicity that would suit a purpose of theirs—as was done by the leaders of the Reformation—but simply used a standard that we have seen applied as early as Origen.

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[1] This, we think, may be inferred from their express intention "to leave the question of a distinction among the sacred books as it had been left by the Holy Fathers," and also from their substituting the expression *pari pietatis affectu* for the word *æqualiter* in the framing of the decree, because "there is a great difference among them," i. e., among the sacred books.

3. Since the Council of Trent. As might naturally be expected, the decree of the Council of Trent was readily accepted by Catholic scholars at large. It was the authentic expression of the mind of the universal Church "the pillar and ground of the truth,"[1] and as such it deserved all the reverence and submission due to the solemn utterances of an infallible authority. Furthermore, it innovated nothing, but simply renewed the decree published in the preceding general Council at Florence, and set the final seal of supreme authority upon books which had always been "received and venerated" in the Christian Church.

It cannot be denied, however, that even after this dogmatic decision of the Council of Trent, a few Catholic writers thought it still allowable to maintain a real difference in respect of canonicity between the sacred books of the Old Testament. This was the case with MELCHIOR CANUS († 1550) in reference to Baruch,[2] with SIXTUS of Sienna († 1599) and ELLIES DUPIN († 1719) in reference to the fragments of Esther.[3] Indeed, BERNARD LAMY († 1714) went so far as to say: *Libri qui in secundo canone sunt, licet conjuncti cum ceteris primi canonis, tamen non sunt ejusdem auctoritatis*,[1] and his view was indorsed by JAHN († 1816) at the beginning of this century.[2]

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[1] I Tim. iii, 15.

[2] De Locis Theologicis. lib. ii. cap. ix. Conclusio 1.

[3] Cfr. LOISY, loc. cit, pp. 221, sq. ; 226, sq.

Whilst the difference between proto- and deutero-canonical books was slowly dying away among Catholics it was sedulously kept up among Protestants in their public Confessions of faith of the second part of the sixteenth century, notably in the Gallican Confession of 1559 A.D.; in the Anglican Confession of 1562 A.D. (art. vi); and in the Second Helvetic Confession of 1566 A.D.[3] As time went on, new and at times ridiculous arguments were set forth by Protestant divines to justify this distinction between the two classes of books. "Generally they are unfaithful to the very principle of Protestantism. . . . Critics insisted on the silence of the Jews, not remembering that the authority of the Church had been cast off; on the absence of prophetic types, though with small effort these would have been found in the Apocrypha quite as much as in hundreds of the passages in the Hebrew code that were arbitrarily interpreted; on the want of originality, the unfavorable opinions of some Fathers, and other like faults. A greater number condemned them because they are not in Hebrew, the proper language of the old Covenant, the natural language of God, the primitive language of humanity. This point was a favorite argument with them because, while vindicating the use of Greek for the New Testament only and Hebrew for the Old Testament, it attained the double purpose of refuting the canonicity of the Apocrypha and the authority of the Vulgate.

"Those, on the other hand, who preserved more positive remembrance of the old criterion, the witness of the Holy Spirit, diligently sought in the Apocrypha for historical errors, heresies, absurdities, all sorts of faults, to establish the point that religious sentiment was not wrong in excluding them from the Canon. . . . The critics rivalled one with another in heaping on the Apocrypha the epithets suggested by contempt and prejudice. The Apocrypha were hated because Catholics were hated; they were said to be filled with fables, errors, superstitions, lies, impieties; and the violence of such attacks is surpassed only by the silliness of the proofs urged in support of them. One chides the son of Sirach for having said that the witch of Endor called forth the spirit of Samuel, orthodox exegesis pretending that it was only an evil spirit. Another discredits the story of Susanna, by finding it absurd that Joachim should have had a garden, since the Jews were captives. One is scandalized by the costume of Judith as she went to the camp of Holophernes; another laughs over the name of the angel Raphael; a third protests against the method of driving away demons by smoke. I have read one who is genuinely grieved because the demon of the book of Tobias is sent forever to Upper Egypt, whereas Jesus banished others into a desert from which they had a chance of returning. Not one of these ardent champions of the purity of the Canon foresees that criticisms so puerile, so unworthy of the subject and so pointless, will end in showing to superficial and scoffing minds the ways and means of sapping the authority of the whole Bible; and that the scoffs thrown at the head of the little fish of Tobias, will sooner or later destroy Jonas' whale."[1]

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[1] Cfr. CHAUVIN, Leçons d'Introduction Générale, p. 149.

[2] Introduction to the Old Testament, § 30, p. 48 sq. (Engl. Transl.).

[3] Cfr. PHILIP SCHAFF, Creeds of Christendom, vol. iii, pp. 361, 490, 238.

Nevertheless, strange to say, books described as so utterly worthless and contemptible were retained in the Bibles of all the Protestant sects down to the year 1826. when the

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[1] REUSS, loc. cit., pp. 359-361.

British Bible Society began to issue copies of the Word of God, from which the Apocrypha had been excluded. The example thus given was not followed at once by the Protestant sects of the European continent. There, the orthodox schools were most anxious to maintain the Canon pretty much in the same condition as at the time of the first leaders of the Reformation. In their eyes, as in those of the Protestant divines of the last centuries, only the books of the Hebrew Bible should be considered as inspired and belonging to the Canon, but the others may be profitable for reading and should not be entirely set aside. Since 1850, however, almost all the Protestant sects have gradually given up the practice of publishing the Apocrypha, and it is well known that the English *Revised Version*, published in 1885, appeared without so much as a reference to them.

Side by side with these more or less conservative schools of Protestant theology, there are Rationalistic schools whose principles may be traced back substantially to the work of the German critic, SEMLER († 1791), entitled "Essay on a Free Examination of the Canon."[1] According to him the Canon is simply the list of books read in the ancient Church for the edification of the people, and the criterion of canonicity consists in the practical utility to be derived from each book. Willingly would he have removed from the Canon the books of Esther, Judith, the Canticle of Canticles and the Apocalypse, because of their not coming up to his standard of morality.[2] Since Semler, many Rationalists have given up all notion of a Canon, inasmuch as they look upon the Old Testament simply as the collection of the extant writings of the Jewish people, and have no manner of concern with the question: Whether this or that particular book of the Bible should be considered as authoritative in matters of faith and morals. Others who still speak of the Canon in exactly the same sense as Semler, judge of the canonical character of a book by the sublimity and purity of its doctrinal and moral teachings, and express freely their regret that certain writings, as for instance, Ecclesiastes, should be kept in the Christian Canon.

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[1] Abhandlung von freien Untersuchung des Canon (1771–1775).

[2] Cfr. LOISY, loc. cit., p. 252.

The position assumed by Rationalists is, of course, the farthest removed from revealed Catholic truth. It cannot be denied, however, that their independent investigation of the history of the Canon has led them many a time to proclaim the untenableness of the Protestant theories and the soundness of the Catholic position as far as the data of history are concerned.[1]

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[1] This is very particularly the case with the works on the Canon of REUSS and S. DAVIDSON so often referred to in the foregoing pages.

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF THE CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

I. THE AGE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT WRITERS:

1. Preaching, not writing, the ordinary method of spreading the Gospel.
2. Yet inspired writings composed and diffused.
3. Traces of primitive collections.

II. THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES:

1. The Apostolic Fathers:
   - How they consider the writings of the New Testament.
   - Books with which they seem acquainted.
2. Testimony of the principal Apologists, and of the early Heretics.
3. Ecclesiastical writers of the West and of the East (Canon of Eusebius).

III. FROM THE FOURTH CENTURY TO OUR TIME:

- Western Churches:
  - Before the Council of Florence.
  - The Council of Trent.
- Eastern Churches:
  - Lack of unity in the fourth century
  - The Trullan Council and after.
- Protestant Sects:
  - Schools and confessions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries
  - Orthodox and Rationalistic schools of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF THE CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

§ 1. *The Age of the New Testament Writers.*

1. Preaching, not Writing, the Ordinary Method of spreading the Gospel. One of the leading features of the age of the New Testament writers consists in the fact that in their eyes, and in those of their Christian contemporaries, preaching, not writing, was the regular method of spreading the Gospel. Christ's mission here below had been to preach "the Gospel of the kingdom of God,"[1] and this same mission He had entrusted to His chosen disciples, saying: "As the Father hath sent Me, I also send you;"[2] "going therefore, teach ye all nations."[3] Conscious of their sublime mission, the Apostles considered it their supreme duty "to speak the things which they had seen and heard,"[4] and not to burden themselves with other occupations which, however useful, would interfere materially with "the ministry of the Word."[5]

So was it also with the great Apostle of the Gentiles. Paul was called to the Apostolate for no other purpose than to preach the Gospel,[6] and this was a most imperative duty in his eyes, for, says he: "Woe is unto me if I preach not the Gospel . . . for a dispensation is committed to me."[7]

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[1] Mark i, 14; Luke iv, 43.
[2] John xx, 21.
[3] Matt. xxviii, 19; cfr. Acts i, 8.
[4] Acts iv, 19, 20; x, 42.
[5] Acts vi, 2, 4.
[6] Acts ix, 15; xxii, 15; xxvi, 16, 17; Rom. i, 1; I Cor. i, 17.
[7] I Cor. ix, 16, 17.

Further, it stands to reason that oral teaching, accompanied "with signs and wonders,"[1] could alone implant the faith among illiterate men such as were the first converts generally.[2] In like manner, only oral teaching could truly preserve the Christian faith among them after they had embraced it;[3] and this is why we see the Apostles and their successors continuing to visit the churches they had founded,[4] or setting over them faithful men capable of keeping up the teaching of the Apostles after their departure.[5]

Finally, "the numerous terms used in the New Testament to designate the teaching of the Apostles express, without exception, the idea of oral instruction. Everywhere,[6] the question is of speaking and hearing, of discourses and auditors, of preaching, proclamation and tradition, and never once of writing and reading, except where there is express allusion to the books of the Old Testament. And later, when the writings of the first disciples and missionaries came within the reach of persons who were literate, the latter could decidedly prefer the oral source for acquaintance with evangelical facts, because it was more abundant."[7]

2. Yet Inspired Writings Composed and Diffused. Although oral teaching was, in the age of the New Testament writers, what it ever remained in the Church of God,[8] viz., the ordinary means of spreading the Gospel, it was only natural that, during the same period, inspired writings should be composed for the use of the early Christians. One might naturally expect, for instance, that the ardent zeal of St. Paul should urge him to send letters to his recent converts, either to encourage them in their faith, or to warn them against perverse teachers, or to correct false notions, or to condemn nascent abuses, etc. It was only natural, too, that while the principal deeds and teachings of Jesus were recounted by the first preachers of Christianity, literate believers should be desirous to possess written records of the same, and that such Gospels as our Synoptic Gospels should be gradually composed.[1]

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[1] I Thess. i, 5; Acts xv, 12; xix, 6, 11.

[2] I Cor. 1, 26; II Thess. iii, 11.

[3] II Thess. ii, 14.

[4] Acts xv, 36.

[5] Acts xiv, 21, 22; I Tim. iii; I Cor. xvi, 15; II Tim. ii, 2; etc.

Cfr. Rom. i, 1; I Cor. iv, 15, etc.; Acts viii, 4, etc.; II Thessal. ii, 14; Ephes. vi, 19; I Thess. ii, 13; II Tim. ii, 1, 2; Gal. iii, 2, 5; etc., etc.

[7] REUSS, History of the Canon of Holy Scripture, p. 19 (Eng. Transl.). Cfr. the words of PAPIAS recorded by EUSEBIUS, Ecclesiastical History, Book iii, chap. xxxix.

[8] Cfr. St. IRENÆUS, Against Heresies, Book iii, chaps. iii, iv; TERTULLIAN, on Prescription against Heretics, chap. xix; etc.

Of these various writings, the Epistles of St. Paul, at least those which were directed to particular churches, were in the best position for acquiring at once authority and for being rapidly disseminated. The heads of the churches caused them to be read publicly to the faithful, who were thereby officially apprised of their genuineness, and were, no doubt, allowed to secure copies of them. Further, these same officials communicated such epistles most willingly to the neighboring communities, either because they belonged to the same province, or because the Apostle had expressed his desire that they should do so. Thus were all possible misgivings concerning their genuineness prevented; thus also was their circulation started without delay.

The other inspired writings of this period, such as our canonical Gospels, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Catholic Epistles, etc., were apparently composed for a less definite circle of readers, and hence they had probably to overcome greater obstacles to their reception and diffusion. It is likely enough, however, that the contents of our Gospels, together with the reverence which the early Christians had for the authors whose names they bear, secured to these sketches of Christ's life and teachings a fairly rapid and extensive circulation. In point of fact, a careful comparison of the text of our canonical Gospels leads to the two following conclusions: (1) the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark were most likely among the current records of Our Lord's life, which St. Luke utilized in the composition of his own Gospel;[1] (2) the first two Gospels—and perhaps all the three Synoptists—were already known to the large circle of readers for whom our fourth Gospel was written.

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[1] The questions connected with the Origin, Date, Authorship, etc., of the Gospels and of the other New Testament writings, will be dealt with in our forthcoming volume on *Introduction to the New Testament.*

In connection with the Catholic Epistles, it is supposed that the resemblances between the Epistle to the Romans and that of St. James, between the Epistle of St. Jude and the second Epistle of St. Peter, point also to their comparatively rapid diffusion.[2]

3. Traces of Primitive Collections. If we bear in mind the principal circumstances in the midst of which the writings of the New Testament were at first circulated, we shall find it easy to understand why no general collection of these inspired books was made during the Apostolic Age. Not only were these writings composed at different times and dispersed to widely different places, but they were circulated while a collection of sacred books, viz., those of the Old Testament, was already in possession of the field. As long as this first collection, coupled with the Apostolic oral teaching still fresh in the memory of the faithful, would appear a sufficient rule of faith and morals, it was not likely that a second collection of inspired writings should be desired. Again, throughout the Apostolic Age, there was a prevalent expectation of the speedy return of the Lord, and this would naturally preclude the wish for a second collection of sacred writings. Nor was there as yet such considerable development of heretical tendencies as to make the orthodox leaders and people realize—as it happened later on—the importance of collecting all the sacred books which had been left to the Christian Church by her first teachers, and which on that account could be turned to the best advantage against dangerous innovators.[1]

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[1] Luke i, 1–3.

[2] Cfr. Loisy, Histoire du Canon du Nouveau Testament, pp. 10–14.

But while these and other circumstances of the time[2] were unfavorable to the formation of a complete Canon of the Holy Scriptures of the New Testament, divine Providence was watching over its various elements and preparing the way for their final gathering into one body of writings no less authoritative than those of the Old Testament. This providential means consisted in the partial collections which individual churches were able to make of writings directly addressed to them, or communicated by the neighboring Christian communities, or reaching them through visiting missionaries. All such collections were, of course, prized very highly and preserved carefully; they also formed so many distinct units whose genuineness could generally be shown, so that they were truly ready to enter as integral parts into the full Canon of the New Testament.

The formation of these partial collections was so natural under the circumstances of the time, that all scholars grant it must have taken place, although only one trace—and even one which is not absolutely clear—of such a collection occurs in the whole New Testament.[3] The variations which existed for a long time between the Canon of the New Testament as admitted by the various churches, seem also to point to collections which were incomplete from the out-set. As the primitive collections contained only a limited number of the sacred writings, and these not always the same, it was only natural that doubts should arise later regarding the authorship and, consequently also, regarding the inspiration of some one or other of the New Testament writings. In point of fact, several books, viz., the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistle of St. James, the second Epistle of St. Peter, the second and third Epistles of St. John, the Epistle of St. Jude and the Apocalypse, were the object of considerable doubts during the following centuries, and on that account they are usually called by Catholics the *deutero-canonical* books of the New Testament.[1]

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[1] For details in connection with this point, see REUSS, History of the Sacred Scriptures of the New Testament, vol. ii, §§ 281–285 (Engl. Transl.).

[2] Such as, for instance, the divisions between Jewish and Gentile converts, the fall of Jerusalem and ruin of its Temple, etc.

[3] II Peter iii, 15, 16. Cfr. LOISY, Histoire du Canon du Nouveau Testament, p. 12.

§ 2. *The First Three Centuries.*

1. The Apostolic Fathers. (Between 90 and 130 A.D.) One of the most important facts connected with the early transmission of the writings of the New Testament consists in the line of separation which the Apostolic Fathers draw between their own writings and those of the founders of the Christian Church. Not only do they recognize the latter as issuing from men invested with a dignity much higher than their own, but they even seem to consider all such writings as in no sense inferior to the sacred books of the Old Testament. This is probably the case with St. CLEMENT of Rome († 100 A.D.), who confirms his own words to the Corinthians by appealing to "the Epistle of the blessed Apostle Paul," which he wrote to them "under the guidance of the Holy Spirit" (*πνευματικῶς*).[2] Thus is it also with St. IGNATIUS, Martyr († 107 A.D.), who seems to place the authority of the Apostles even above that of the prophets of old;[1] with the writer of the Epistle usually ascribed to St. BARNABAS, who quotes a passage from St. Matthew with the solemn scriptural formula, "as it is written;"[2] and finally, with St. POLYCARP, who says that "neither he, nor any other like him, can come up to the wisdom of the blessed and glorified Paul," and who, after referring to his readers as men "versed in the Sacred Scriptures," affirms that "it is declared in these Scriptures: 'Be ye angry and sin not,' (Ps. iv, 5), and 'let not the sun go down upon your wrath,'" (Ephes. iv, 26).[3]

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[1] A few passages of St. Mark (xvi, 9–20), St. Luke (xxii, 43, 44), and St. John (vii, 53–viii, 11), are also deutero-canonical.

[2] I Epist. to the Corinthians, chap. xlvii.

In view of the supreme authority ascribed by these and other Apostolic Fathers to the literary productions of the founders of Christianity, the question of determining the books of the New Testament with which early Church writers show themselves acquainted, assumes a special importance. But although this topic has attracted much the attention of recent scholars, considerable uncertainty still prevails concerning it,[4] chiefly because, while the Apostolic Fathers seem to use this or that particular book of the New Testament, they do not refer to it by name, nor cite its words strictly. We think, however, that when the whole evidence which has come down to us from the time of the Apostolic Fathers[5] is carefully examined, it bears out the following conclusions:

(1) By the year 130 A.D., our four canonical Gospels were extensively circulated, and formed so well defined a collection that at no later date do we find any doubt among

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[1] Epist. to the Philadelphians, chap. v; cfr. also Epist. to the Smyrnæans, chaps. v, vii, and Epist. to the Romans, chap. iv.

[2] Epist. of St. Barnabas, chap. iv.

[3] Epist. to the Philadelphians, chaps. iii, xii.

[4] Cfr. SANDAY, Inspiration, Lectures vi, vii.

[5] In this connection, the evidence includes several other ecclesiastical writings, such as the Shepherd of Hermas, the so-called second Epistle of St. Clement, The Teaching of the Apostles, the Preaching and Apocalypse of Peter, etc., and also the testimony of the Gnostic Basilides and of his son, Isidore.

ecclesiastical writers regarding the precise number of the Gospels received by the Church; (2) in the first quarter of the second century, the Epistles of St. Paul are not only well known in the great Christian centres of the Roman world, but some expressions of St. Clement and St. Polycarp seem to imply that a general collection of St. Paul's Epistles had already been made; (3) it is not unlikely that in those early days the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of St. John were usually received together with the Gospels of St. Luke and of St. John, respectively; (4) finally, the Epistle to the Hebrews was considered in Alexandria as the genuine work of St. Paul, and if we except the second Epistle of St. Peter, the Epistle of St. James, and especially that of St. Jude, all our canonical writings of the New Testament were clearly known to some one or other of the early churches.[1]

2. Testimony of the Principal Apologists and of the Early Heretics. As a powerful confirmation of the positions just assumed, we may adduce at once the testimony of the leading apologists, who followed closely on the time of the Apostolic Fathers. Foremost among them stands St. Justin († 163 A.D.), whose apologetic works are the earliest extant, and whose testimony in favor of our canonical Gospels is most valuable. Towards the end of his *First Apology* he speaks of "the Memoirs composed by the Apostles, and which are called Gospels,[2]" and says that at the meeting of the faithful "on the day called Sunday . . . the Memoirs of the Apostles or the writings of the prophets are read as long as time permits.[3]" In another work of his, entitled *Dialogue with Trypho*, we clearly see that these Memoirs or Gospels form already a well defined collection, inasmuch as not only the Christian apologist, but even his Jewish opponent, speak of them as "*the* Gospel."[1] In the same work, St. Justin says that the records of Christ's life, to which he appeals repeatedly, "were drawn up by the Apostles and those who followed them:"[2] expressions which apparently point to the very men to whom our canonical Gospels are ascribed, viz., St. Matthew and St. John, the Apostles of Jesus, and St. Mark and St. Luke, the immediate disciples of the Apostles. Finally, when the holy Doctor mentions words or deeds of Christ as drawn from "the Memoirs," from "the Memoirs of His Apostles," etc., he has distinctly before his mind the words and deeds of Jesus as they are recorded in our canonical Gospels. It is plain, therefore, that our Gospels were well known to St. Justin,[3]

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[1] For detailed information, see LOISY, loc. cit., pp. 14-46, and SALMON, Introduction to the New Testament, 8th edit., p. 359, sq. For a different view, see DAVIDSON, Canon of the Bible; REUSS, History of the Sacred Scriptures of the New Testament, etc.

[2] First Apology, chap. lxvi.

[3] Ibid, chap. lxvii.

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[1] Dialogue with Trypho, chaps. x, c.

[2] Ibid, chap. ciii.

[3] Rationalists grant that Justin knew the first and third of our canonical Gospels. They are divided as to his use of St. John's Gospel, but every candid reader of St. Justin cannot help admitting that his expressions regarding the "only begotten Son of the Father," "the Word," "His having become flesh," etc., imply his acquaintance with our fourth Gospel. They generally deny that the holy Doctor used the Gospel of St. Mark, and affirm that in one passage he refers to the Apocryphal *Gospel of Peter* for events which are recorded exclusively in our second Gospel. This passage reads as follows: καὶ τὸ εἰπειν μετωνομακεναι αὐτον Πετρον, ενα τῶν Αποστολων, καὶ γεγραφθαι ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονευμασιν αὐτοῦ γεγενημενον καὶ τοῦτο, μετὰ τοῦ και ἄλλους δυο ἀδελφοὺς, υἱους Ζεβεδαιου ὄντας, μετωνομακεναι ὀνοματι τοῦ Βοανεργες, ὁ ἐστιν υἱοὶ βροντῆς κ. τ. λ. (Dial. with Trypho, chap. cvi). Here the pronoun αὐτοῦ refers either to Christ or to Peter. The probabilities are certainly in favor of its referring to Christ: yet, even supposing that we should refer it to Peter and render the "Memoirs of him (Peter)," it does not follow necessarily that St. Justin speaks of the Apocryphal *Gospel of Peter*, fragments of which have been recently published. The holy Doctor might still have in view the Gospel of St. Mark, since an old tradition describes Mark as the secretary of the prince of the Apostles (Cfr. PAPIAS in EUSEBIUS, Ecclesiastical History, Book iii, chap. xxxix; see also LOISY, loc. cit., p. 51; SALMON, Introduction to the New Testament, Lect. VI).

But further, it is far from being proved that St. Justin was acquainted with the Apocryphal Gospel of Peter, still less that he would have used it in exactly the same manner as our canonical Gospels: that apocryphal writing is a heretical work, and its *Docetic* tenets are many a time in direct opposition to the orthodox expressions of St and even that some time before him they had been considered as authoritative by the Christian Church, which read them in her public services alongside of the prophetical books of the Old Testament.

Of the other writings of the New Testament, the Apocalypse is the only one about which St. Justin gives distinct information,[1] but it is beyond doubt that he used the Epistles of St. Paul, and indeed all the other canonical books except the Epistle of St. Jude, the second Epistle of St. Peter, the second and third Epistles of St. John.[2]

The testimony of St. Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth at the time of the martyrdom of St. Justin, is also very important in the history of the Canon of the New Testament. In a passage which has been preserved to us by Eusebius,[3] the holy bishop complains of the falsification of his epistles, but consoles himself with the fact that the same is done to "the Scriptures of the Lord" (*τῶν κυριακῶν γραφῶν*), that is to the writings of the New Testament, thus designated because forming a well-defined and sacred collection.[4]

The last Christian apologist to be mentioned here is St. Theophilus of Antioch (about 180 A.D.) who, in his writings, shows himself "familiar with the Gospels and most of

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Justin. (Cfr. chiefly G. Salmon, Historical Introduction to the Study of the Books of the New Testament, 8th edit., pp. 581-589.)

However all this may be, the now unquestionable fact that soon after St. Justin, his disciple, Tatian, framed a *Diatessaron*, or Evangelical Harmony, out of our four Gospels, implies that the holy Doctor was fully acquainted with our Gospels and admitted their authority. (Cfr. the English translation of Tatian's work in vol. ix of the Ante-Nicene library of the Fathers, Amer. Edition.)

[1] Cfr Dialogue with Trypho, chap. lxxxi, where St. Justin names "John, one of the Apostles of Christ" as its author, and quotes its testimony together with that of the prophets of the Old Testament to prove that Christ will reign a thousand years in Jerusalem before the final resurrection of the dead takes place.

[2] Cfr. Loisy, loc. cit., p. 57, sq., and Westcott, Canon of the New Testament, 3d edit., p. 150, sq.

[3] Cfr. Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, Book iv, chap. xxiii.

[4] This is admitted by critics belonging to very different schools, such as Westcott and S. Davidson.

Paul's epistles, as also the Apocalypse. He cites passages from Paul as "the divine word" (*ὁ θεῖος λόγος*), and ascribes the fourth Gospel to John, calling him an inspired man like the Old Testament prophets."[1] We also learn from St. Jerome that he composed a harmony of the four Evangelists: *qui quatuor Evangelistarum in unum opus dicta compingens, ingenii sui nobis monumenta reliquit.*[2]

Contemporary with these great champions of orthodoxy, whose testimony gives us the mind of the Christians within the pale of the Church, lived leaders of heresy whose extant writings, however fragmentary, bear witness to the fact that, without the Church, most of the books of the New Testament were known, quoted and put on the same level as those of the Old Testament. Such is the case with BASILIDES who "in the few pages of his extant writings refers certainly to the Gospels of Matthew, Luke and John and to the Epistles of St. Paul to the Romans, Corinthians, Ephesians and Colossians, possibly also to the first Epistle to Timothy."[3] So is it also with VALENTINUS who cites the Epistle to the Ephesians as "Scripture" and refers clearly to the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Luke and St. John, to the Epistles to the Romans and the first to the Corinthians, perhaps also to the Epistle to the Hebrews and the first Epistle of St. John.[4] So is it finally with MARCION, the celebrated contemporary of St. Justin and of Valentinus. His canon was divided into two parts: "the Gospel" and "the Apostolicon." The Gospel was that of St. Luke, but in an altered state; while the Apostolicon comprised ten Epistles of St. Paul, excluding the Pastoral Epistles and that to the Hebrews.

This concordant testimony of orthodox and heretical writers in the second century regarding the authoritative character of most of the books of the New Testament proves conclusively against Rationalists, that these sacred books must have enjoyed the same authoritative character a considerable time before both champions and opponents of orthodoxy had appeared.

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[1] S. DAVIDSON, Canon of the Bible, 3d edit., p. 135.

[2] MIGNE, Patr. Lat., vol. 22, col. 1020.

[3] WESTCOTT, Canon of the New Testament, p. 265, sq.

[4] WESTCOTT, ibid, p. 269.

3. The Ecclesiastical Writers of the West and of the East. At the point where the age of the early apologists and heretics merges into that of the great ecclesiastical writers of the third and fourth centuries, we meet with a most valuable testimony to the contents of the Canon of the New Testament in a fragmentary list commonly known as the *Muratorian* Canon. This list, discovered in the Ambrosian library at Milan, by Muratori (hence its name) in 1740, was made towards the end of the second century (about 170 A.D.), and gives us the mind of the *Roman* Church at that early date. As the beginning of the Canon of Muratori is torn, it now opens with a broken sentence, which evidently refers to the position of St. Mark's Gospel.[1] The writer speaks next of the Gospels of St. Luke and St. John as the third and fourth Gospels, so that he knew of our four Gospels. He ascribes the book of the Acts to St. Luke, enumerates thirteen Epistles of St. Paul, mentions the Epistle of St. Jude, the Epistles of St. John,[2] and refers apparently to two Apocalypses, the one of St. John and the other of St. Peter, this latter "as not universally received," but more probably to only one Apocalypse, that of St. John and to two Epistles of St. Peter, the second of which he declares is "not universally received."[1]

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[1] The text of the Muratorian Canon may be found in Cornely, Loisy, Breen, Westcott, etc., opp. cit.

[2] The first Epistle of St. John, though not named explicitly, was admitted by the writer of the Canon, for he cites its first verse in connection with the authorship of the fourth Gospel (cfr. lines 26–34 of the Muratorian Canon).

It is impossible to peruse the Canon of Muratori without feeling that its "author speaks throughout of a received and general opinion, stating what was held to be certainly known, and appealing to the practice of 'the Catholic Church.'"[2] In point of fact, the Epistle of St. James and the Epistle to the Hebrews, which he does not mention, and the second Epistle of St. Peter, to which he probably refers "as not universally received," are the very writings which we find at this time either unknown to or rejected by the churches of Gaul and North Africa, for there is no trace of them either in St. IRENÆUS († about 200 A.D.), the illustrious Bishop of Lyons, or in TERTULLIAN († 220), the celebrated priest of Carthage.[3]

But whilst Roman and Western writers seem to be opposed to the sacred character of these deutero-canonical Epistles, the tradition of the great church of Alexandria is in its favor. This is clear in the case of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which CLEMENT of Alexandria (the head of the Alexandrian school from 180 to 202, A.D.), and ORIGEN († 254) ever reckon along with the other thirteen Epistles of St. Paul. This is also very probable in the case of the second Epistle of St. Peter and of the Epistle of St. James, for Eusebius[4] tells us that in his work entitled *Hypotyposes*, Clement of Alexandria "gave abridged accounts of all the canonical Scriptures, not even omitting those that are disputed (*τάς ἀντιλεγόμενας*), that is, the book of Jude and the other general Epistles" (James, II Peter, II and III John). It is true that Origen, the most brilliant disciple and successor of Clement of Alexandria, mentions at times doubts in connection with them and numbers them among the disputed (ἀμφιβαλλόμενα) books of the Canon of the New Testament. Yet it is highly probable that when he does so, he is not voicing the tradition of the Alexandrian church, but rather speaking as a teacher who knows that several writings,[1] although received in Alexandria, are either questioned or rejected elsewhere. We even grant that since Origen used these expressions of distrust against several books of our Canon, he may be conceived of as having indorsed the doubts of past or present ecclesiastical writers. It remains true, however, that when he speaks the popular language of the time and simply conforms to the commonly received views of his church, he enumerates all the books of our present Canon without exception or restriction.[2]

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[1] The text of the Muratorian Canon, referring to this point, has certainly been altered. For reasons which it would be too long to detail here, the reading proposed by Zahn as the original one, viz., "Apocalypsi etiam Joannis et Petri *unam* tantum recipimus *epistolam: fertur etiam altera* quam quidam ex nostris legi in ecclesia nolunt . . ." seems very probable.

[2] WESTCOTT, Canon of the New Testament, p. 199, sq.

[3] This agreement of the Western churches points probably to a similarly incomplete list of sacred books in the early Latin copies of the New Testament.

[4] Ecclesiastical History, Book vi, chap. xiv; cfr. also Book iii, chap. xxv. The *Hypotyposes* of Clement of Alexandria are no longer extant, but were known to Photius (ninth century) who speaks of them in his Bibliotheca, chap. cix.

The foregoing remarks concerning the attitude of Origen towards several books of the New Testament Canon apply also in some measure to EUSEBIUS († 340 A.D.), the erudite Bishop of Cæsarea, in Palestine. In his *Ecclesiastical History*, composed about 325 A.D., he gives us valuable information as to the condition of the Canon in his time.[3] He distinguishes the books which claimed to be authoritative into *Homologoumena*, or universally acknowledged books; *Antilegomena*, or disputed books; and *Notha*, or spurious works. The first class comprises the four Gospels, the Acts, fourteen Epistles of Paul[1] the first of John, the first of Peter, and finally the Apocalypse with the qualification εἴγε φανείη "if it be thought right." In the second class, Eusebius includes expressly first "disputed books which are recognized by most ecclesiastical authors," viz., the Epistle of James, the Epistle of Jude, the second of Peter, and the second and third of John; and secondly and less formally, books having a more restricted currency among Catholics, such as the Acts of Paul, the Pastor, the Apocalypse of Peter, the Epistle of Barnabas, the Teachings of the Apostles, "and finally, εἴγε φανείη, the Apocalypse of John, which some reject, but others rank among the Homologoumena." The third class comprises "the spurious writings which are to be rejected as altogether absurd and impious," "and which circulate only among heretics," viz., the Gospels of Peter, of Thomas, of Matthias, etc., the Acts of Andrew, of John, and of other Apostles.[2]

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[1] Besides the second Epistle of St. Peter, and the Epistle of St. James, Origen mentions the Epistle of St. Jude, the second and third Epistles of St. John, among the disputed writings.

[2] Cfr. especially his Homily on Josue vii, 1, where he distinctly mentions our four Gospels, two Epistles of Peter, the Epistles of James and Jude, the Epistles and Apocalypse of John, the Acts of the Apostles which he ascribes to St. Luke, and lastly, the fourteen Epistles of St. Paul.

[3] Cfr. especially Book iii, chap. xxv.

Such is in substance the testimony of Eusebius concerning the state of the New Testament Canon at the end of the third century and the beginning of the fourth century of our era. It clearly shows that, since the time of Origen, the question of the genuineness of the deutero-canonical books had made no advance in the Eastern churches, inasmuch as the books qualified at times as *disputed* by the great Doctor of Alexandria are still spoken of as such by the Bishop of Cæsarea. Nay more, it seems to prove that the doubts regarding the genuineness of the Apocalypse of St. John which made their appearance in Rome at the beginning of the third century had gradually attracted the attention of the learned world. At the same time, the very expressions used by Eusebius prove that all these deutero-canonical writings however "disputed" they might still be in theory, were acknowledged as inspired by most ecclesiastical authors, and freely circulated among Catholics. As a matter of fact, our entire Canon of the New Testament is found in the *Sinaiticus*, a Greek codex of the fourth century, and was also probably found originally in the *Vaticanus* (also of the fourth century), in which the latter part of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Pastoral Epistles and the Apocalypse are wanting because of mutilation, the manuscript breaking off at Hebr. ix, 14, in the middle of the word *καθαριεῖ*.[1]

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[1] In his Ecclesiastical History (Book iii, chap. iii), EUSEBIUS says that "the Epistles of Paul are fourteen, all well known and beyond doubt. It should not, however, be concealed, that some have set aside the Epistle to the Hebrews, saying that it was disputed in the Church of Rome as not being one of St. Paul's Epistles."

[2] Beside the books of which Eusebius speaks as "disputed," there are two deutero-canonical fragments (Mark xvi, 9-20 and John vii, 53 -viii, 11) regarding the genuineness of which he records serious doubts. In point of fact these two fragments are omitted in the *Vaticanus* and *Sinaiticus*, the only extant Greek codices of the New Testament which go back to the fourth century of our era.

§ 3. *From the Fourth Century to our Time.*

1. The Canon of the New Testament in the Western Churches. The history of the Canon of the New Testament in the Western churches between the fourth century and the Council of Florence (middle of the fifteenth century) exhibits but few features worthy of notice. The first, and indeed the most important of these features, consists in the influence which Eastern views regarding the Epistle to the Hebrews, the second Epistle of St. Peter, and the Epistle of St. James exercised upon leading Fathers and writers of the West at the beginning of this long period. It is directly owing to the influence of Origen, that St. Hilary of Poitiers († 367) cites the second Epistle of St. Peter and the Epistle of St. James as "Scripture;" and does the same for the Epistle to the Hebrews, which he ascribes to St. Paul.[1] St. PHILASTRIUS († 387), Bishop of Brescia in North Italy exhibits also distinct traces of Oriental influence,[2] whilst RUFINUS († 410), priest of Aquileia, accepts in its fulness our present Canon because he finds it so framed by the illustrious Bishop of Alexandria, St. ATHANASIUS († 373). It was therefore because of their acquaintance with the ancient tradition of the East that the Western churches were induced to admit into their Canon of the New Testament the few deutero-canonical Epistles still missing in their collection.[3]

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[1] It seems that in drawing his list of acknowledged books Eusebius made little or no account of the *Peshitto* or Syriac Version which since the latter part of the second century contained all the books of the New Testament except the second and third Epistles of John, the second of Peter, the Epistle of Jude and the Apocalypse. (Cfr. Jas. Hastings, Bib. Dict., art. Bible.)

A second feature to be noticed in the history of the Canon of the New Testament during this period consists in the rapidity with which the newly completed Canon was adopted wherever Latin was spoken. It is this full Canon which was received in *Spain* about 375 A.D., as we infer from the homilies of the heretical Bishop of Avila, PRISCILLIAN († 385), which have been recently published. It is this full Canon which three Councils—those of Hippo in 393, and of Carthage in 397 and 419,—held during the lifetime and under the personal influence of St. AUGUSTINE († 430), approved of for the African churches. It is this same complete list that the best Latin biblical scholar of the Church, St. JEROME († 420) accepted as his own, especially in his letter to Paulinus, and in his catalogue of ecclesiastical writers, extracts of which formed the well-nigh necessary accompaniment of the Latin copies of the Bible during the following centuries. Finally, it is this full Canon which Pope St. INNOCENT I sent in 405 to St. Exsuperius, Bishop of Toulouse in Southern *Gaul*, who had consulted the head of the *Roman* Church about "the books admitted in the Canon."[1] Thus was it that our Canon of the New Testament, supported so powerfully and in so many different ways, "soon gained universal acceptance wherever Latin was spoken." It was received not only in Italy and Africa but also "in Gaul and Spain, and even in Britain and Ireland."[2]

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[1] Cfr. De Trinitate, lib. i, 18; lib. iv, 8; lib. iv, 11 (Patr. Lat., vol. x).

[2] Cfr. LOISY, Canon du Nouveau Testament, p. 186, sqq.

[3] Even the list of TH. MOMMSEN (359? A.D.) bears traces of this Eastern influence, although it omits the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistle of James and notes doubts concerning the second of Peter, the second and third of John (cfr. VIGOUROUX, Dictionnaire de la Bible, art. Canon, p. 176; BRIGGS, General Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture, p. 138; SANDAY, Inspiration, p. 455).

A third and last feature to be mentioned here, is the constant firmness with which the Western churches adhered to the full Canon throughout the Middle Ages. All the Latin manuscripts of this period, whatever their origin (Italian, French, Spanish, Irish, etc.), contain all the books of the New Testament; and all the commentators, theologians, canonists, correctors of the Bible, and ecclesiastical writers of any other description, know of and receive explicitly all these sacred books. It is true that several manuscripts of the time, such as the *Fuldensis* (written in 546), the *Cavensis* and the *Toletanus* (eighth century), etc., contain the apocryphal Epistle of St. Paul to the Laodiceans. But it should be remembered that though considered by several Latin writers of the period, among whom St. GREGORY THE GREAT († 604), the Anglo-Saxon Abbot ALFRID (tenth century) and JOHN of Salisbury († 1180), as the genuine work of St. Paul, this Epistle was not regarded as *canonical*. It is true also that here and there, as, for instance, in St. ISIDORE of Seville († 636), and HAYMO of Halberstadt († 856), a few traces of the old doubts can still be found, but they bespeak "a display of erudition rather than attempts at criticism:"[3] during the Middle Ages, the Canon of the New Testament was no longer a problem to be solved, but a firm and universally accepted tradition in the Western churches.

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[1] Cfr. MIGNE, Lat. Patrol., vol. xx, cols. 501, 502.

[2] WESTCOTT, Canon of N. Test., p. 423.

[3] WESTCOTT, ibid. For details concerning the history of the Canon of the New Testament during the Middle Ages, cfr. LOISY, Histoire du Canon du Nouv. Test., pp. 214-226; REUSS, History of the Sacred Scriptures of the New Testament, § 328, sq.

It is not surprising therefore to find Pope EUGENIUS IV declaring solemnly with the approval of the Council of Florence (Feb. 4, 1442), that the holy Roman Church admits as equally inspired with the books of the Old Testament, all those of the New which are enumerated without the least distinction between proto- and deutero-canonical writings.[1] Nor is it surprising to notice, on the other hand, that, speaking as erudite humanists, such men as ERASMUS († 1536) and Card. CAJETAN († 1534), mentioned again the old doubts concerning the deutero-canonical books of the New Testament.[2] We can hardly doubt, however, that whilst not denying positively the divinely-inspired character of these books, the bold expressions of these writers, especially those of Cajetan, must have seemed at the time, if not an indorsement, at least a too favorable appreciation of the wrong views of the early reformers, which the Church soon condemned formally in the Council of Trent.

If we set aside all the questions agitated by the Fathers of Trent, which either have no direct bearing on the holy writings of the New Testament, or have already been sufficiently examined in connection with the History of the Canon of the Old Testament, we shall find that the discussions of the Council referred chiefly to the three following points: (1) the canonicity of several books rejected by heretics, especially by Luther; (2) the canonicity of the deutero-canonical parts controverted even among Catholics; (3) the genuineness of the sacred books, because of its intimate connection with their inspired character. The first of these points was soon agreed upon, for the Fathers had no other aim but to re-promulgate and sanction definitively the tradition of past ages in regard to the sacred writings of the New Testament, and this tradition was in their eyes absolutely favorable to the canonical character of all the books which were then contained in the Latin Vulgate. On the second point, the Fathers of the Council were much more divided. Apparently, they did not care to define questions still controverted among Catholics, and although "they thought that, at some future time, a special decree concerning the canonicity of the fragments of the Gospels could be framed,"[1] they preferred to follow the example of the Council of Florence which had made no difference between the proto- and the deutero-canonical parts; a majority of two-thirds decided that in the decree on the reception of the Gospels, a distinct mention of these fragments should not be made.[2] The third point which bore on the genuineness of the sacred books had a special importance at the time of its discussion, when in the eyes of all—Catholics and Protestants alike—the inspiration of a book ascribed to an Apostolic writer was most intimately bound up with its authenticity. This is why, although the Fathers never intended to define this authenticity of the canonical books, yet they insisted that the names of the authors to whom they were ascribed by tradition should be inserted in the enumeration of writings declared "sacred and canonical" by the Council.[3]

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[1] Cfr. LABBE, Acta Conciliorum, vol. ix, col. 1023, sq.

[2] Cfr. LOISY, loc. cit., p. 226. sqq. It seems also that Cajetan rejected the authority of the deutero-canonical passages of St. Mark (xvi, 9-20), St. John (vii, 53—viii, 11) and St. Luke (xxii, 43, 44).

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[1] Cfr. THEINER, Acta Genuina Concilii Tridentini, vol. i, p. 71.

[2] Cfr. THEINER, ibid., p. 77. The proposed wording of the decree was apparently: "Si quis autem libros sacros, prout in ecclesia leguntur, pro sacris et canonicis non susceperit . . . . A. S.," but as the Cardinal of Trent remarked, this wording, if applied to the Gospels, would seem to affirm "ut ne totum quidem evangelium recipere videamur, quoniam non omnes evangelii partes in ecclesia leguntur." The formula was therefore altered, and the final wording of the decree reads: "Si quis libros *integros, cum omnibus suis partibus*, prout in Ecclesia *catholica* legi consueverunt *et in illa veteri Latina Vulgata editione habentur. . . .*" (THEINER, p. 84).

[3] The theological bearing of this insertion is closely examined by LOISY, Canon du Nouveau Testament, p. 250, sqq.

2. The Canon of the New Testament in the Eastern Churches. In adopting a Canon which included without the least distinction as regards inspiration and genuineness both the proto- and deutero-canonical writings of the New Testament, the Fathers of Trent simply conformed to what had been for long centuries the firm tradition not only of the Western but also of the Eastern churches. It is true that these latter churches betray some lack of unity concerning the Canon during the fourth century, as may be seen from the fact that while the Alexandrian writers St. ATHANASIUS (Festal Epistle of 367 A.D.) and St. CYRIL of Alexandria († 444) use the full Canon, the Fathers of Palestine and Asia Minor—such as St. CYRIL of Jerusalem († 386), St. GREGORY NAZIANZEN († 389), St. AMPHILOCHIUS († about 380), etc.,—seem to reject the Apocalypse, and those of Antioch—such as St. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM (†407), THEODORET (†457 ?), APHRAATES (wrote about 340), etc.,—are opposed not only to the same book, but also to the deutero-canonical Epistles not found in the Peshitto.. Further, it is difficult in the present day, to define at least in certain cases, how far the opposition of the East to some deutero-canonical writings was not merely theoretical, even during the fourth and fifth centuries of our era. Yet even admitting that this opposition went as far as a positive exclusion of one or several of these books,[1] it remains none the less true that after a short lapse of time it had well-nigh altogether disappeared. Indeed, if we except COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES (535 A. D.) who excludes from his catalogue the *Apocalypse* and the *seven* Catholic Epistles, it may be said that, from the middle of the fifth century, all the writers of

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[1] As is possibly the case with St. Cyril of Alexandria, St. Cyril of Jerusalem and St. Gregory Nazianzen. Cfr. VIGOUROUX, Dictionnaire de la Bible, art. Canon, p. 175; CHAUVIN, Leçons d'Introduction Générale, p. 186, sq.

Alexandria, Palestine and Asia Minor, Syria and Byzantium accept our full Canon without misgiving.[1]

In view of these facts it is only natural to find that the Council *in Trullo* (692 A.D.) which enjoys so much authority in the East, approved solemnly of the complete Canon of St. Athanasius and the Latin Council of Carthage. In fact, had not the Trullan Council mentioned together with these authorities, such incomplete lists as that of the Council of Laodicea and the eighty-fifth Canon of the Apostles, traces of the old doubts would not have lingered in the writings of the Patriarch of Constantinople, NICEPHORUS († 828), and of some Greek Canonists of the twelfth century.[2] However this may be, NICEPHORUS CALLISTUS (1330) declares expressly in his Ecclesiastical History, that the twenty-seven books of the New Testament have long been received without the least contest "by all the churches which are under the heavens,"[3] and there is no doubt that ever since the churches of the East have ever agreed with the Western churches in admitting a Canon at once complete and pure.[4]

3. The Canon of the New Testament in the Protestant Sects. It would be a waste of time to dwell here on the tests imagined by LUTHER († 1546) and CALVIN († 1564) to find out an essential difference between the books so long regarded as canonical by the East and the West. Their great principle, which was also that of the other early reformers, that independently of Church and tradition a book proves itself to the regenerated man as truly containing the Word of God and worthy to be numbered among the canonical Scriptures, was not applicable in practice and soon ceased to be—if it ever was—the real rule whereby Protestants determined the books which should make up the Canon of the New Testament.[1]

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[1] For details, see LOISY, Canon du Nouveau Testament, pp. 208–211. The admission of all the deutero-canonical books into the new Syriac Version of Bishop Philoxenus at the beginning of the sixth century, is particularly worthy of notice. The Nestorians still cling to the incomplete Canon of the school of Antioch.

[2] Cfr. LOISY, ibid., and also WESTCOTT, Canon of the New Testament, p. 416, sq.

[3] Cfr. MIGNE, Patr. Græca, vol. cxlv, cols. 880–885. See also WESTCOTT, opere cit., footnote 4.

[4] Cfr, TROCHON, Introduction Générale, p. 195.

According to Luther, the head of the *Saxon* school, only four writings should be excluded from the Canon of the New Testament, viz., (1) the Epistle to the Hebrews, which he regarded as "neither Paul's nor an apostle's;" (2) the Apocalypse, which he spoke of "tossing into the Elbe," as "neither apostolic nor prophetic;" (3) the Epistle of James, which he pronounced unapostolic and "a right strawy epistle;" (4) finally the Epistle of Jude which he declared spurious and useless.[2] From this verdict of his master and during the very lifetime of Luther, BODENSTEIN of Carlstadt († 1541) differed in two important points: he rejected seven books (the usual deutero-canonical books) instead of four, and the ground of this rejection was the testimony of history instead of the dogmatic theory affirmed by Luther that the canonicity of a book depends on its teaching about Christ and man's salvation. Other Lutherans of the sixteenth century, for instance CHEMNITZ († 1588) and FLACIUS ILLYRICUS († 1575), thought it also necessary to take into account, much more than Luther had done, the data of history, and to put the deutero-canonical books of the New Testament in a lower place than the others, chiefly because they had been a subject-matter of discussion in earlier ages. During the seventeenth century the Lutheran school showed itself less unfavorable to the three Epistles (I and II of John, II of Peter) whose genuineness had been admitted by its first founder, and "in the course of time, its members grew more and more familiar with the idea that the difference between the two classes of apostolic writings consisted at bottom only in the degree of certainty regarding their respective origin. . . . It was preferred therefore to choose for classifying them terms that were quite inoffensive; e.g., *canonical books of the first and second series*, or *of the first and second Canon*." [1]

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[1] Cfr. chap. iii, § 3. n. 1. See also REUSS, History of the Sacred Scriptures of the New Testament, vol. ii, § 339 (Engl. Transl.).

[2] The motives put forth by Luther may be found in WESTCOTT, Canon of the New Testament, p. 449, sq.; LOISY, Canon du Nouveau Testament, p. 236, sq.

A very different reason, however, may have contributed powerfully to make the Lutherans careful not to insist too much on the supposed inferiority of the deutero-canonical books of the New Testament. They could not help noticing during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that the other schools of reformers (the *Swiss* school under Zwingli, Œcolampadius and even Calvin; [2] the *Arminian* School under the leadership of Grotius (de Groot), and the *English* Church with its first divines) never took any decisive stand against the seven Antilegomena.[3] All these schools settled their Canon of the New Testament more by usage than by deep historical research or by any dogmatic theory, and therefore they continued to value the full Canon of their ancestors. Nay more, the *Bohemian* Confession of Faith,[4] and to some extent the XXXIX Articles of the *Anglican* Church, appeal still to "patristic tradition" as a ground for their position regarding the Sacred Scriptures. Hence no school of reformers, the Lutheran not any more than the others, dared to incriminate the old Church for upholding a Canon of the New Testament which so many Protestant sects still preserved intact. Perhaps also may we refer to this cause the rather singular fact that so few *Confessions* of the various reformed churches—four or five at most[1]— give an explicit list of their sacred books of the New Testament: they were probably shy to commit themselves openly to a position which would have appeared both a condemnation of many Protestant sects, and an indorsement of the Catholic doctrine.

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[1] Reuss, History of the Canon of the Holy Scriptures, p. 369 (English Transl.).

[2] The only deutero-canonical books probably excluded by Calvin from the Canon are the second and third Epistles of John.

[3] For details, see Loisy, Westcott, Reuss, etc.

[4] "Docent Scripturas ss. quæ in bibliis continentur, et a patribus receptæ auctoritateque canonica donatæ sunt, pro veris habendas, etc." (Confess. Bohem. art. 1, quoted by Reuss, History of the New Testament, vol. ii, p. 342, Engl. Transl.).

However this may be, it is certain that at no time since the beginning of the Reformation, was the New Testament mutilated by the suppression of the deutero-canonical writings. All along, these inspired books have had a place in the Bibles of all the Protestant sects, and it is only in the German editions of the sacred text that a trace may be found of a difference between the four books (Heb., Jas., Jude, Apocal.) rejected by Luther and the other books of the New Testament: these four writings occupy the last position in the printed editions, as if to suggest their inferior character.

The complete Canon thus ratified during the first centuries of the Reformation has been maintained without the least alteration in practice in the more or less *Orthodox* schools of the nineteenth century, and whatever the views of their individual scholars regarding the genuineness or even the divine character of this or that particular book, the recasting of the Canon of the New Testament is not even dreamed of among them.[2] These schools of Protestant thought prefer to look upon the question as substantially well settled in the past, and to leave it in the *statu quo*, rather than to tackle what they consider a very difficult problem and a probable source of further divisions in the Protestant churches.[1]

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[1] The only four commonly mentioned are the *Gallican* and *Belgic* Articles, the *Westminster* Confession and the *Irish* Articles: they all contain a full Canon of the New Testament (Cfr. SCHAFF, The Creeds of Christendom, vol. iii).

[2] Scholars of every denomination shared in the Revision of the Authorized Version of the New Testament, and it does not appear that any difference of views as regards the contents of the Canon of the New Testament ever showed itself among them.

Side by side with these more or less conservative schools of Protestant theology, there are *Rationalistic* schools, whose principles may be traced back chiefly to the work of the German critic, SEMLER († 1791), entitled, "Essay on a Free Examination of the Canon." His general views, as well as those of his followers, have been already summarized in connection with the History of the Canon of the Old Testament, and hence there remains here only to add a few words about the famous TÜBINGEN school and the reaction which has set in against its principles and conclusions.

The founder and central figure of the modern Tübingen school was Ferdinand Christian BAUR († 1860), who maintained that the peculiar doctrinal contents of each writing give the key to its origin. According to him, the Christian religion emerged slowly from the strife and gradual reconciliation of two opposite parties, the one Jewish, claiming Peter as its head, the other Gentile, having Paul for its chief leader; the one contending that the Jewish law and customs should be imposed upon Gentile converts, the other affirming that all such believers should not be bound to the Mosaic rite of circumcision, and to all that it implied.[2] 'The history of Christianity from the Apostolic Age to the middle of the second century was the history of this controversy in its various stages of (1) unmitigated antagonism between the two opposite tendencies; (2) incipient and progressive reconciliation; (3) consummated reconciliation and completed union and unity. The books of the New Testament all relate to one or other of these stages, and their dates may be approximately fixed by the tendencies they respectively represent. A book which belongs to the first stage, and advocates either pure Paulinism or a purely Judaistic view of Christianity, is therefore early and apostolic; on the other hand, a book which belongs to the final stage and presents a view of Christianity rising entirely above antagonisms, must be of late date, and cannot have had an apostle for its author." [1]

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[1] Cfr JAMES HASTINGS, Bible Dictionary, art Bible, p. 291, sq.: see, also, REUSS, History of the New Testament, vol. ii, p 360 (Engl. Transl.).

[2] Cfr Outlines of New Testament History, p. 267, sqq.

Applying this test to the contents of the books of the New Testament, Baur finds that only five writings have a right to be considered as undoubtedly genuine. These are: Rom., I, II Cor., Galat., which strenuously advocate pure Paulinism, and the Apocalypse, which, on the contrary, takes a purely Judaistic view of Christianity. Many of the other books are at best doubtful, and some of them belong unquestionably to the second century.

Such is in substance the theory of Baur and its many followers, Zeller, Schwegler, Köstlin, Ritschl, Bruno Bauer, etc. It practically amounted to a denial of the Canon, since "it allowed the greater number of its constituent parts to be lost in the stream of the history of doctrine along with other works of a very different character." [2] It was therefore vigorously combated by Rationalistic critics of various schools,[3] who justly pointed out, among other things, "its failure to recognize the germs of organization even in the earliest Jewish Christianity, and their power; its assumption, never yet justified, of so very late date for most of the New Testament writings; its rashness of judgment by which the genuineness of many of them is denied, — often sacrificed rather to the logic of the system than to sufficient proof," etc.[4] Yet it must be granted that many results of the Tübingen criticism, as well as the whole method of its investigation, and many of its premises, have been widely spread among the modern critical schools.

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[1] Bruce, Apologetics, Book iii, chap. vii.

[2] B Weiss, A Manual of Introduction to the New Testament, p. 15 (Engl. Transl.).

[3] Cfr. B. Weiss, ibid.

[4] Reuss, History of the Sacred Scriptures of the New Testament, vol. ii, p. 359, (Eng. Transl.).

Of late, however, Prof. Adolph Harnack, in the first part of his *Chronologie* (published in 1897), seems to give up the very fundamental position of Baur and other Rationalistic scholars. He frankly recognizes that "in the criticism of the sources of primitive Christianity, we are, without doubt, embarked on a retrograde movement towards tradition," and affirms that "the chronological framework in which tradition has arranged the documents from the Pauline Epistles down to Irenæus, is in all main points right, and compels the historian to disregard all hypotheses in reference to the historical sequence of things which deny this framework." Of course these expressions of the German professor should not be taken too literally, for Harnack himself departs freely enough in connection with some canonical books from the beaten track of tradition.[1] But it cannot be denied that, while speaking of Baur with respect, he sets aside Baur's favorite positions, and discredits his method as one that started with certain assumptions regarding the existence and work of certain operative elements in primitive Christianity and the early Church, and made the writings conform to these. The whole style of criticism, moreover, that has derived more or less from Baur, that is ruled by the idea of "tendency," receives here a stroke that should be fatal. It has had its day, according to Prof. Harnack, and has failed.[2]

Of course, the words of censure of the brilliant professor of Berlin, reach directly the unscientific method of the founder of the Tübingen school, but there is no doubt that they are also indirectly a condemnation of the no less unscientific methods resorted to by the founders of the Reformation, while they are a vindication of the principle by which the Church of God ever judged of the apostolic and canonical origin of the books of the New Testament.

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[1] Cfr. his chronological table of events and literature connected with Christianity in The Biblical World, May, 1897.

[2] S. D. F. SALMOND, Harnack's Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius in The Critical Review, Oct., 1897, p. 398.

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER V.

The Apocryphal or Uncanonical Books of the Old Testament.

Name and Importance of these Books.

I. Apocryphals in Latin Editions:

- The Prayer of Manasses.
- Third Book of Esdras:
  - Regarded as canonical by many ecclesiastical writers.
  - Its elements almost entirely canonical.
- Fourth Book of Esdras (contents, authorship and date of composition).

II. Apocryphals in Greek Editions:

- Psalm 151st ascribed to David.
- The Psalter of Solomon (contents, date and authorship).
- The third and fourth books of the Machabees.

III. Apocryphals quoted by New - Testament Writers:

1. Names of these apocryphal books. By whom quoted?
2. The Book of Enoch:
   - Cited as Holy Scripture by several ecclesiastical writers.
   - Nature and contents.
   - Influence upon the writings of the New Testament.

CHAPTER V.

THE APOCRYPHAL OR UNCANONICAL BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

Name and Importance of these Books. Beside the books of the Old and New Testament which the Church of God regards as sacred and inspired, there is a whole literature made up of works which are commonly called *Apocryphal*[1] As might naturally be expected, this name has been understood differently in different ages;[2] but in the present day, as indeed for several centuries, it is usually applied to books whose claims to canonicity are not recognized by the Church. It is in this sense that Protestants call "apocryphal" our deutero-canonical books of the Old Testament;[3] but as we saw in the foregoing chapters, these books have a strict right, even on purely historical grounds, to be considered as canonical.

Of course, the importance attached to this *Apocryphal* or *Uncanonical* literature has greatly varied through centuries. By most of the early writers of the Church, because of its containing "things contrary to faith or otherwise objectionable"[4] it was considered as dangerous and worthy only of anathema. Others,[5] however, whilst not approving of its in-discriminate use, thought that real advantages might be derived from a careful perusal of its contents, and this is unquestionably the prevalent view of scholars in our century. In the present day the apocryphal books are studied attentively by the biblical interpreter, who hopes to find in them facts or expressions which throw light on obscure passages of the canonical writings; by the student of history, who seeks to discover in them the impress of the ideas and anticipations of the period in which they appeared or which they describe; by the apologetic writer, who compares their contents with those of the canonical books, and is thereby enabled to show the incomparable superiority of the latter, etc. In view of this manifold interest, and also in order to complete our study of the Canon, we shall speak briefly of the principal apocryphal writings of the Old and of the New Testament.

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[1] Ἀπόκρυφος, hidden.

[2] Cfr. TROCHON, Introduction Générale, p. 471; Jas. HASTINGS, Bible Dictionary, art. Apocrypha.

[3] They usually call them the *Apocrypha*, after the manner of St. Jerome and other Latin writers.

[4] Cfr. ORIGEN, in Cant. Cantic. prologus.

[5] ORIGEN, for instance, in Matth. His words are quoted in VIGOUROUX, Dictionnaire de la Bible, art. *Apocryphes*, p. 767.

§ 1. *Apocryphal Writings in the Latin Editions of the Old Testament.*[1]

1. **The Prayer of Manasses.** Of the three apocryphal writings which are allowed a place at the end of our authorized editions of the Latin Vulgate[2] the first and shortest is the Prayer ascribed to King Manasses († 644 B. C.) In fifteen verses, this poetical composition describes beautifully the sentiments of genuine repentance and humble trust in God's mercy whereby the Jewish king, as we are told in the second book of Paralipomenon (chap. xxxiii, 13, 19), obtained forgiveness for his past transgressions and deliverance from his captivity in Babylon. Of course this

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[1] We do not deem it necessary to treat here of the short apocryphal pieces found in the Vulgate under the name of the *Prologue* to Ecclesiasticus and the *Preface* to the book of Lamentations, although the former has considerable historical importance.

[2] In the editions anterior to that of Clement VIII, the Prayer of Manasses was found immediately after the second book of Paralipomenon, and the third and fourth books of Esdras came immediately after Nehemias, or second book of Esdras.

Prayer has no right to be considered as identical with the one which the book of Paralipomenon tells us "was written in the words of Hozai" (or the seers). It is a late literary imitation of the penitential Psalms, as may be inferred from its theological terms peculiar to later Judaism (such as "*ὁθεὸς τῶν δικαίων*," "*ὁθεὸς τῶν μετανοούντων*") and probably also from the almost Christian feelings it expresses.[1] The Hebraisms which it contains are not a conclusive proof that it was originally written in Hebrew; they may be sufficiently accounted for by ascribing its composition to a Hellenistic Jew, who probably wrote in the first century before the beginning of the Christian era.

The Prayer of Manasses is not indeed given by Josephus, but his mention of a prayer of that king repentant for his sins is so worded as to lead us to think that the Jewish historian, who used the Septuagint Version in all its parts, was not unacquainted with our apocryphal document.[2] This inference appears all the more plausible, because there is hardly any doubt that the oldest Greek manuscripts of the Septuagint contained it, since it was translated into Latin before the time of St. Jerome. It must be said, however, that the oldest distinct witness to its existence are the *Apostolic Constitutions* (Book ii, chap. xxii), which reproduced its full text and gave it a currency which it would never have possessed otherwise, on account of its obscure position among the *Canticles* appended to the Psalter in the manuscripts of the Septuagint.[3] Thus put into active circulation, the Prayer of Manasses was much used and quoted by the

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[1] Cfr. Westcott, in Smith, Bible Dictionary, art. Manasses, prayer of; vol. iv, p. 1777; cfr. also Luke xviii, 13, with Prayer of Manasses (verse 8).

[2] Cfr. Josephus, Antiq. of the Jews, Book x, chap. iii, § 2, with Prayer of Manasses (verse 10, sq.).

[3] This is its position in the Codex Alexandrinus. Prof. Swete (The Old Testament in Greek, vol. iii, p. 802, sq.) gives the text of Codex Alexandrinus and the various readings of the Verona and Zurich MSS.

Greek Fathers. Several ecclesiastical writers[1] looked upon it as genuine and inspired. Though it is still found in the Greek *Euchologium*, or collection of liturgical prayers in the Eastern Church, at the present day it is regarded by all as uncanonical.

2. The Third Book of Esdras. The second apocryphal writing now placed at the end of the authorized editions of the Latin Version, is the *third book of Esdras*, thus called in the Vulgate because our canonical books of Esdras and Nehemias are known respectively as the *first* and the *second* book of Esdras. In the old Latin, Syriac and Septuagint versions, it was named the *first* book of Esdras from its position immediately before our canonical books of Esdras and Nehemias. This latter name has great historical importance, inasmuch as when early Councils and writers of the Church speak of the *first* book of Esdras they have in view our *third* book of that name, and when in their lists of sacred books they mention only *two* books of Esdras, the *first* to which they allude is our *third* book, while their *second* corresponds to our canonical books of Esdras and Nehemias counted together as one work.[2]

The nomenclature just referred to is found in the African councils of Hippo and Carthage, in the writings of St. Augustine, Pope Innocent I and Cassiodorus, and proves beyond doubt that at a given time the canonicity of the third book of Esdras was officially recognized, at least in the Western churches. About the same period, the sacred character of this book was taken for granted by the leading writers of the East, such as Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius, St. Athanasius, St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, who agree with St. Cyprian, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and others in the West, in quoting as Holy Writ passages found nowhere except in the third book of Esdras.[1] It is not therefore surprising to find that in presence of such unanimity of the East and of the West, up to the fifth century of our era, some writers should have affirmed that this work is truly cånonical and inspired. They remark that the Catholic Church, far from rejecting it positively as apocryphal, has allowed its use and inserted it in its official edition of the Vulgate and of the Septuagint; that by far the largest part of its contents is simply a duplicate of canonical passages in the second book of Paralipomenon and in the first and second of Esdras; and that, finally, it is difficult to see how the fact that the writing in question has ceased to be in use since the fifth century of our era, can invalidate the earlier positive testimony in its favor.

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[1] S. DAVIDSON (Introd. to the O. Test., vol. iii, London, 1863) gives their names; they all belonged to the Greek Church.

[2] Cfr. LOISY, Canon de l'Ancien Testament, p. 91, sq.

Of course it cannot be denied that the third book of Esdras is almost entirely made up of truly canonical elements, as may be seen easily in the following table:

III Esdras	i	is identical with	II Paralip. xxxv–xxvi, 21.
	ii, 1–15	" " "	I Esdras i.
	ii, 16–31	" " "	I Esdras iv, 7–24.
	iii–v, 6 (sole matter peculiar to the third book of Esdras).		
	v, 7–73	is identical with	I Esdras ii–iv, 5.
	vi–ix, 36	" " "	I Esdras v–x.
	ix, 37–55	" " "	II Esdras (or Nehemias) vii, 73–viii 13a.

But should not this almost perfect identity of contents between the third book of Esdras and the books which precede and follow it in the old editions of the sacred text, have suggested long ago that the third book of Esdras is really not an independent writing, but rather a revised translation with a single interpolation taken from some independent source viz., iii–v, 6? In point of fact, the more closely the common elements are examined, the more will they appear to point to the one and same text as underlying the third book of Esdras and our canonical writings, and as rendered more freely in the former than in the ordinary Greek copies of the Septuagint: the more, in one word, will it become probable, that the so-called third book of Esdras is simply a version of certain parts of Holy Writ, whose substance is of course inspired, but whose individuality may be rejected by the Church, as was done in the case of the old Septuagint translation of the book of Daniel.[1]

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[1] The references to the works of these ecclesiastical writers are found in CORNELY, Introductio Generalis, p. 202.

The third book of Esdras has been freely used by Josephus.[2] Perhaps it goes back in its present form to the second century B.C. Dr. Swete, in his valuable edition of the Old Testament in Greek, vol. ii, has republished the text of Codex Vaticanus with the various readings of Codex Alexandrinus.

3. The Fourth Book or Apocalypse of Esdras.

Hardly less widely circulated[3] and less highly valued in the Christian Church[4] than the third book of Esdras, is the last apocryphal writing found at the end of our authorized editions of the Latin Vulgate. In the Latin Church it bears the name of the *fourth book of Esdras*, owing to the fact that the canonical books of Esdras and Nehemias are reckoned as the first and second of Esdras respectively, while the old first book of that name is now called the third book of Esdras ; but in the Greek Church it was styled the *Apocalypse* or *Prophecy* of Esdras, a title which describes well the general form of its contents, and which on that account is commonly adopted by modern biblical scholars.

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[1] Cfr. Cornely, Introductio Generalis, p. 201 ; Driver, Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament, p. 553, sq. ; and the valuable art. Esdras (first book of), by H. St. J. Thackeray in Jas. Hastings, Bible Dictionary.

[2] Antiquities of the Jews, Book xi, chaps. i–v.

[3] The popularity which the fourth book of Esdras has enjoyed is shown by the number of translations (Latin, Syriac, Armenian, Ethiopic, and two Arabic) which have been made of it (for details concerning these versions, see Jas. Hastings, Bible Dictionary, art. Esdras, second book of, p. 763, sq.).

[4] The high value set on this book is evidenced (1) by the fact that such eminent early writers as St. Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, St. Ambrose, St. Cyprian, etc., have quoted it as Holy Writ ; (2) by the traces it has left in the Latin liturgy (the passages may be found in Vigouroux, Dictionnaire de la Bible, art., Apocalypses apocryphes, p. 761) ; (3) by the influence it has exercised upon the eschatological conceptions of the Middle Ages (cfr. Le Hir, Etudes Bibliques, vol. i, p. 140, sq.).

If we leave aside the opening and concluding chapters (i, ii ; xv, xvi), which are certainly Christian additions to the work,[1] the Apocalypse of Esdras is found to be made up of a series of revelations (*ἀποκαλύψεις*) or visions—seven in number—given to Esdras by the angel Uriel. The scene of these visions is Babylon, where Esdras is represented in the thirtieth year after the ruin of Jerusalem, as greatly perplexed by the question : Why is Israel, the chosen people of God, ruled over by the heathen, though the latter be even more wicked than the Jews ? In answer to his complaints, the angel bids him consider that God's judgments are in themselves unsearchable, that wickedness has its appointed time whose end must be waited for and even recognized as near by certain signs which are enumerated. Upon the appearance of these signs men will behold wonderful things : the Messias will come with His retinue, and after a prosperous reign of 400 years die along with all mankind. Seven days later the general resurrection will take place, and the Most High proceed with the final judgment, the furnace of Gehenna being seen on one side, and over against it the paradise of delight. Only a few will be saved, and the punishment of the wicked, like the joy of the saints, will never end, for the judgment is just and irrevocable. Then it is that for the personal comfort of Esdras, he is granted an enigmatic vision, whose meaning as explained by Uriel is the future restoration and beauty of the holy city. The following vision (also enigmatic) gives a key to contemporary history, and because it refers to the present it is obscurely interpreted by the angel. In a dream, Esdras sees an eagle rising from the sea, having at first twelve wings and three heads, but gradually undergoing transformations till at last it is consumed in flame at the rebuke of a lion speaking with human voice. According to the interpretation given by Uriel, the eagle represents the last of Daniel's kingdoms; the twelve wings are twelve kings who are to rule over it one after another, and the three heads three other kings who in the last days will reign over the earth; these will be followed by two subordinate kings who are represented by two feeble wings which have appeared during the transformations above referred to, and who will be the last two rulers of this great kingdom; the lion is the Messias who will arraign these last kings before His tribunal, destroy them and next set up a kingdom which will last 400 years and be followed by the resurrection and the universal judgment. In the next vision, Esdras beholds a man (the Messias) rising out of the sea and then standing upon a mountain (Mount Sion) from the top of which He consumes all His foes by the flaming breath of His mouth (the Law). Whereupon other men—some of whom in chains, whereby are meant the ten tribes in captivity—come to Him who has redeemed them. The last chapter of the original work (chap. xiv) records how also in a vision, Esdras was told that he was soon to be taken from among men, and next commissioned by God Himself to dictate during forty days to five scribes. Esdras did so, and "in forty days they wrote ninety-four books"[1] (the twenty-four books of the Hebrew Bible that were lost,[1] and seventy others destined for the wise among the people), whereupon Esdras was carried away "after he had written all these things."

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[1] They have reference to such distinctly Christian doctrines as original sin, necessity of faith for salvation, etc.

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[1] The *Received Text* reads "two hundred and four books."

Such is the bare outline of this remarkable book, which obviously is not the genuine work of Esdras, as is shown by the chrolonogical error in chap. iii, 1, which makes him contemporary with the destruction of Jerusalem by Nabuchodonosor. But "it is a characteristically Jewish work in its apocalyptic form, its knowledge of Jewish traditions, its interest in the ten tribes and its deep concern in the fate of Jerusalem. There is no ground for supposing that the author was a Jewish Christian: there is a marked contrast between the Christian interpolations (chaps. i, ii, xv, xvi, and the insertion of the name of Jesus in vii, 28) and the remainder of the book."[2] The author was more probably a Palestinian than an Alexandrian Jew, although all take it for granted that he wrote in Hellenistic Greek.[3]

The date at which the author wrote has been much more debated than his nationality: while some writers ascribe his work to 30 B.C., others place it as late 218 A.D. Yet, when the contents of the Apocalypse of Esdras in its original form (chaps iii–xiv) are closely examined, they supply data which lead us to believe with most contemporary scholars that the book should be dated no later than the time of Nerva (96–98 A.D.). The writer considers, no doubt, the ruin of Jerusalem by the Romans as past; the heathen rule over the chosen people for some time and the levitical worship is no more, so that all Jewish hopes are now directed towards the Messias who should soon appear and set up His new kingdom with Sion as its capital. The eagle of the enigmatic vision in chaps xi–xii represents imperial Rome, and its three heads are most likely the three Flavian emperors: Vespasian († 79) Titus († 81) and Domitian († 96 A.D.), while the two feeble wings which have but lately appeared and will soon be arraigned before the tribunal of the Messias, are no others than the old and weak emperor Nerva (96–98 A.D.) and his recently-associated Cæsar, M. Ulpius Trajan (98–117 A.D.). It would seem therefore that the fourth book of Esdras has justly been called the Apocalypse of the year 97 A.D.[1]

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[1] As we saw in the History of the Canon of the Old Testament, it is on the strength of this passage of the fourth book of Esdras that several early writers of the Church ascribed to Esdras the closing of the Canon of the Old Testament.

[2] H. St. J. THACKERAY in Jas. HASTINGS, Bible Dictionary, vol. i, p. 766.

[3] The original Greek is lost, but the Latin Version is plainly a translation from the Greek (cfr. Sam. DAVIDSON, Introd. to the Old Test., vol. ii, p. 364).

§ 2. *Apocryphal Writings in the Septuagint Editions.*

1. Psalm 151st ascribed to David. The first apocryphal piece peculiar to the Greek editions[2] of the Old Testament is a short Psalm counted as the 151st and bearing the inscription: *Οὗτος ὁ ψαλμὸς ἰδιόγραφος εἰς Δαυὶδ καὶ ἔξωθεν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, ὅτε ἐμονομάχησε τῷ Γολιαδ.* This title describes well the supposed occasion of a composition which has plainly no right to be considered as part of Holy Writ, although St. Athanasius and other Greek ecclesiastical writers have considered it as canonical. Its comparatively recent origin is shown from the fact that the old Latin Version did not possess it, whereas it is found in more recent translations (Armenian, Arabic, etc.), which are directly derived from the Septuagint.[3] The seven verses in which it is divided add nothing to the narrative of David's encounter with Goliath in I Kings (I Sam.) on which it is clearly dependent. On the whole it is a very tame composition.

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[1] For a careful examination of this difficult question, cfr. SCHÜRER, A History of the Jewish People, vol. iii, div. ii, pp. 99–108; Jas. HASTINGS, Bible Dictionary, vol. i, p. 764, sqq.; and BISSELL, the Apocrypha of the Old Testament, p. 643, sq.

[2] In the official Septuagint edition by Sixtus V, Psalm 151st is placed among the apocryphal writings after the third book of Esdras. In the other editions it is found at the end of the Psalter. See the text of Codex Vaticanus with the various readings of Cdd. Vaticanus, Alexandrinus and the Verona and Zurich MSS., in SWETE, The Old Test. in Greek, vol. ii, p. 415.

[3] Cfr. CORNELY, Introductio Generalis, p. 204, sq.

2. The Psalter of Solomon or Psalms of the Pharisees. Of much greater literary beauty and historical importance than this 151st Psalm is almost every hymn contained in the collection ascribed to the son of David, under the name of the *Psalter of Solomon.* These hymns or Psalms, eighteen in number, though not actually found in the official edition of the Septuagint Version [1] have a special claim to be reckoned among the apocryphal books of the Old Testament, inasmuch as the lists of sacred books ascribed to St. Athanasius and Nicephorus mention them as *ἀντιλεγόμενα* or contested writings. It is true that each Psalm is composed upon a clearly defined plan, treats its own special topic and forms a separate unit; yet it cannot be denied that it forms at the same time an integrant part of an organic whole, sharing in the general tone of the collection and subserving its common purpose. This prevailing tone is one of gloom and despondency because of the heavy misfortunes which have but recently befallen the Jewish nation on account of its sins; because also of the fact that those who are spoken of as "sinners" are men of influence siding with the foreigner, and abusing their power to oppress the "poor" and the "just." With this are mingled from time to time noble sentiments of praise to God and confidence in Him; and the whole collection closes with two Messianic Psalms especially remarkable for their exalted ideas of the origin, mission, personal character and public rule of the Anointed One (מָשִׁיחַ) of Jehovah.[2]

It is by means of a close study of the transparent allusions to contemporary events which are found especially in Ps. i, ii, viii, xvii, that modern scholars are enabled to fix a very probable date for the whole collection. The period referred to is no other than the time when a mighty warrior come from afar at the head of his army was freely allowed to enter Jerusalem, where he dared to penetrate into the Holy of Holies; when also after a bloody massacre, large numbers of Jews were carried into captivity "to the bounds of the west" (ἕως ἐπὶ δυσμῶν),[1] and the pagan conqueror finally met with his just retribution "lying pierced" upon the Egyptian shore and remaining unburied.[2] These are the principal historical data supplied by the Psalter of Solomon, which clearly point to Pompey[3] as the great general in question, and consequently to the period between 70 and 40 B. C., as the particular time when all our Psalms appeared, for "there is nothing in the style or contents of the other Psalms to separate them in respect of date of composition from those which are definitely historical in coloring."[4]

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[1] Dr. SWETE has published them in his edition of the Septuagint: The Old Testament in Greek, vol. iii, pp. 765-787. Cfr., also, the valuable edition of the Psalms of Solomon by RYLE and JAMES (Cambridge, 1891).

[2] For a good summary of the Messianic conception in the Psalms of Solomon, see RYLE and JAMES, Introduction, p. lii, sqq.

The foregoing remarks prove beyond doubt that these hymns cannot seriously be thought of as written by Solomon; and in truth, beyond the fact that their inscriptions bear the name of that monarch, they contain no certain allusion to their reputed author. Whether they were composed by only one or by several writers of the same period cannot be defined, as they are in a great measure based in thought and expression[5] upon our canonical Psalms. But whoever studies them in view of the principal tenets held by the Pharisees and the Sadducees in the first century before our era, must remain convinced that the whole collection bears the unmistakable impress of one or several Pharisaic writers; hence, they have justly been called "*the Psalms of the Pharisees*."[1]

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[1] Ps. xvii, 14a.

[2] Ps. ii, 30, 31.

[3] For details see Ryle and James, loc. cit., pp. xxxix–xliii; and Schürer, The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ, vol. iii, 2d div., p. 18, sq.

[4] Ryle and James, ibid, p. xliii.

[5] They were originally written in Hebrew.

3. The Third and Fourth Books of the Machabees.[2]

The last two books found in the Greek editions of the Old Testament are prose compositions which, from the connection of their contents with incidents recorded in our second book of Machabees, have been called the *third* and *fourth* books of the Machabees. The former deals with an episode of Jewish history, which is described as having taken place under the Egyptian King Ptolemy IV Philopator (B.C. 222–204), and consequently before the Machabean period. It narrates that this prince, after his great victory at Raphia (217 B.C.), having wished to enter the inner part of the Temple of Jerusalem was suddenly struck by God and cast to the ground. After his return to Egypt, he meditated revenge upon all the Jews of his kingdom and caused them to be gathered in countless numbers in the hippodrome at Alexandria, intending that they should be trampled to death by 500 elephants. But the prayers of the people, and especially those of the high priest Eleazar, obtained from heaven several miracles which ensured their salvation.

It would not be worth our while to speak further of a work, which, like the third book of the Machabees, abounds in absurd details,[3] had it not found its way into the Apostolic Canons[4] as one of the writings of the Old Testament, and later on into the lists of several Greek writers through respect for the Trullan Council which had mentioned approvingly the Apostolic Canons. It seems also to have enjoyed great authority in the Syrian church, as its existence in the old Syriac Version and a quotation from it by Theodoret († ab. 457) clearly show.[1] But Nicephorus († 828) reckons it among the ἀντιλεγόμενα, and it seems never to have been used in the Latin church, so that it has really no solid claim to canonicity.

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[1] For particulars bearing this out fully, see RYLE and JAMES, ibid, pp. xliv-lii; and E. SCHÜRER, ibid, p. 21 (Engl. Transl.).

[2] Only the third book is found in the Sixtine edition of the Septuagint. For the text of the fourth book, see SWETE, The Old Testament in Greek, vol. iii, pp. 729–762.

[3] As for instance that it took forty days to write down even a part of the names of the Jews confined to the circus at Alexandria; that the paper factories gave out in their efforts to produce paper enough for the purpose of registration, etc., etc. (cfr. BISSELL, The Apocrypha of the Old Testament, p. 616, sq.).

[4] Canon lxxvi, apud COTELIER, Patr. apost. 2d edit., p. 448 (Antwerp edit., 1700).

Modern critics are greatly at variance as to the precise historical fact which underlies the narrative in the third book of the Machabees.[2] Everything considered, the narrative is most likely another form of the story of Heliodorus which is recorded in the second book of the Machabees (chap. v) and which became connected with Egypt and Alexandria under the pen of some Jewish Egyptian writer. Several things in its opening chapters prove that the original beginning of the book is no longer extant. The work was composed probably in the first century before the Christian era.

The *fourth* book of the Machabees is more distinctly connected with our second canonical book of that name. Under the form of an address to Jewish hearers or readers, the writer tries to prove that it is not difficult to lead a pious life, if only they follow the precepts of "pious reason,"[3] and for this purpose he appeals to facts of Jewish history, especially to the martyrdom of Eleazar and the seven Machabean brothers which are detailed in the second canonical book of the Machabees (chaps. vi, vii).

Josephus is named by Eusebius and other ecclesiastical writers as the author of this apocryphal work: in reality, their view is but a guess which several things rather tend to disprove.[1] The fourth book of the Machabees was written *before* the destruction of Jerusalem, and probably not much before this great event.

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[1] THEODORET, Comment. on Daniel, chap. xi, 7; (Opp., vol. ii, p. 682, Paris, 1642).

[2] For a statement and discussion of their views, see BISSELL, loc. cit., p. 617.

[3] Hence the secondary title of "On the Supremacy of Reason" given to the fourth book of the Machabees in St. JEROME, De Viris illustr., chap. xiii.

§ 3. *Apocryphals quoted by New Testament Writers.*

1. Names of these Apocryphal Books. By Whom Quoted? Among the apocryphal books of the Old Testament it is usual to reckon works which ecclesiastical writers tell us are quoted as authorities in the inspired books of the New Testament. Of course it is not easy in the present day to determine whether such books—and which, if any—are thus cited by the New Testament writers. Almost all the apocryphal compositions to which early ecclesiastical writers refer in this connection are known to us only by name. Again, as passages of the Old Testament are often freely quoted in the New, or even combined together, it is difficult to define whether a given passage of the New Testament Scriptures not found literally in our canonical books of the old Covenant, be really a quotation from an uncanonical book, or simply a free citation or combination of passages of the Old Testament. Finally, apocryphal books were often tampered with by early Christian hands, so that passages found in our books of the New Testament which subsequent writers looked upon as quotations from uncanonical writings, may be after all nothing but interpolations of an earlier date.[2]

However all this may be, it is certain that only a few apocryphal books were ever considered as quoted by the inspired writers of the New Testament. These books are (1) a certain "Apocryphal of Jeremias" which Origen and St. Jerome think was quoted by St. Matthew xxvii, 9; (2)

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[1] Cfr. Schürer, loc. cit., p. [illegible]

[2] This is apparently the case with [illegible], found in the so-called "Apocalypse of Moses" (cfr. Schürer, The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ, vol. iii, 2d div., p. [illegible], Engl. Transl.).

"the Apocalypse of Elias," which, according to the same ecclesiastical writers, is cited in I Cor. ii, 9, and again, according to St. Epiphanius, in Ephes. v, 14; (3) "the Assumption of Moses," which Origen, Didymus of Alexandria († ab. 395), etc., regard as quoted in the short Epistle of St. Jude (verse 9); finally (4) "the book of Enoch," which Tertullian, St. Augustine, St. Jerome consider as quoted in the same Catholic Epistle (Jude, verses 14–15).[1]

Here we shall speak only of the last-named book, "the book of Enoch," because of the high value set upon it during the early ages of Christianity, and because of its revived importance in modern times.[2]

2. The Book of Enoch. When we bear in mind that the early writers of the Church took literally the words of St. Jude "Enoch also the seventh from Adam, prophesied, saying,"[3] which introduce a passage from the book of Enoch,[4] we can easily understand how they did not hesitate to treat as Holy Writ a book which in their eyes had the solemn approval of an apostle. In point of fact, the author of the Epistle of Barnabas (after 70 A.D.) cites Enoch twice as Scripture, and St. Athenagoras (about 170 A.D.) regards its author as a true prophet. A little later, Tertullian emphatically defends the divine character of the book of Enoch, whilst Origen, though not regarding it strictly as inspired, does not dare to reject it altogether. Other writers, like St. Justin, St. Irenæus, etc., though not explicitly in favor of its divine character, are perfectly acquainted with its contents, or quote it as an authority.[1] In the fourth century however, St. Hilary of Poitiers, St. Jerome and St. Augustine agree with the apostolic constitutions in speaking of the book of Enoch as an "apocryphal," "full of fables," and under the ban of such authorities, the book soon passed out of use and knowledge till 1773, when the English traveller Bruce brought from Abyssinia two MSS. of an Ethiopic translation, from one of which Laurence made the first modern translation of Enoch in 1821.

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[1] A few other passages of the New Testament (Luke xi, 49; John vii, 38; and Jas. iv, 5 are also regarded by some modern writers as quotations from sources uncanonical, but which cannot be identified even conjecturally.

[2] For particulars concerning the other books see Trochon, Cornely, Vigouroux, Schürer, Bissell, etc., opp. cit.

[3] The *formula citandi* in Jude (verses 14,15) is identical with the formula which introduces a passage from Isaias in St. Matt. (xv, 7) and St. Mark (vii, 6).

[4] Enoch, chap. i, 9, cfr. chap. lx, 8, where Enoch is called "the seventh from Adam," exactly as St. Jude calls him.

The book of Enoch belongs to that apocalyptic literature which, under the form of revelations and visions, aimed at solving the difficulties connected with the righteousness of God and the suffering condition of His faithful servants—whether collectively or individually—here below. In its present form, it is clearly a compilation whose first origin may be traced back to the sense which the Jews had gradually evolved from the passage of Genesis (v, 24), where it is said that "Enoch walked with God." This was supposed to point "to superhuman privileges granted to Enoch by means of which he received special revelations as to the origin of evil, the relations of men and angels in the past, their future destinies, and particularly the ultimate triumph of righteousness. It was not unnatural, therefore, that an apocalyptic literature began to circulate under his name in the centuries when such literature became current. In the *Book of Enoch*, translated from the Ethiopic, we have large fragments proceeding from a variety of Pharisaic writers in Palestine, and in the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, translated from the Slavonic, we have additional portions of this literature."[2]

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[1] The testimonies of these ecclesiastical writers may be found in R. H. CHARLES, The Book of Enoch, p. 38, sqq., and SCHÜRER, The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ, vol. iii, 2d div., p. 70, sqq. (Engl. Transl.).

[2] R. H. CHARLES, art. Enoch (the Book of) in Jas. Hastings, Bible Dict., p. 705.—Thirty chapters of the book of Enoch in the Greek were discovered in Egypt in 1886.

When the contents of the book of Enoch are closely examined, they are found to bear chiefly on the justification of God's providence in the world. Four of its sections—out of five—have clearly for their object to describe the precise manner in which righteous and unrighteous creatures have already met or will later meet with a just retribution. Sin appeared first in the world of spirits and corruption was introduced among mankind by the intercourse of the unfaithful angels (the *Watchers*, as they are called) with the daughters of men. The Watchers were punished at once by confinement in a deep abyss where they await the final judgment, while the gigantic race issued from their unlawful intercourse was swept away by the Flood. Sin, it is true, continues to prevail in the world through the temptations offered to the sons of Adam by the wandering spirits (demons) that have gone forth from the slaughtered children of the Watchers and the daughters of men ; it is true also that kings and mighty trust in their power to oppress the children of God, but sin and oppression will not last forever. The righteous as a nation shall one day possess the earth in the prosperous kingdom of the Messias, and the destiny of the individual shall be finally determined according to his works : while the unrighteous will be given up to the angels of punishment to be tortured in Gehenna, heaven and earth shall be transformed, the righteous and the elect shall possess eternal mansions therein, enjoy the presence of the " Elect One " and forever be like angels in heaven.

Such is the general outline of these four sections, which, because they formed originally four separate works, present the problem and its solution in a somewhat different manner. It is impossible to peruse them without being struck by the number of expressions and ideas—regarding the last judgment and general resurrection, heaven and hell, the person of the Messias, His origin, titles, character, mission and power, etc.,—which are common to the book of Enoch and to the various writings of the New Testament. It is plain that the two collections of books known as the book of Enoch and the New Testament are not absolutely independent of each other, and since it cannot be doubted that the former existed before the latter was composed (Enoch was compiled between 200 and 65 B.C.), the great influence of the book of Enoch upon the writings of the New Testament must be admitted.[1]

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[1] All the questions connected with the book of Enoch have been admirably treated by R. H. CHARLES, The Book of Enoch (Oxford, 1893), and art. Enoch (Ethiopic book of) in Jas. HASTINGS, Bible Dictionary. Here is a short list of passages or expressions whose resemblance is very striking between the New Testament and the book of Enoch:

Matt. xix, 28	Enoch lxii, 5 ;
Luke xvi, 9	Enoch lxiii, 10 ;
Luke xxi, 28	Enoch lxi, 2 ;
John v, 22, 27	Enoch lxix, 27 ;
John xiv, 2	Enoch xxxix, 4 ;
Rom. ix, 5 ; II Cor. xi, 31	Enoch lxxvii, 1 ;
Ephes. i, 9	Enoch xlix, 4 ;
Philip. ii, 10	Enoch xlviii, 5 ;
I Thessal. v, 3	Enoch lxii, 4 ;
I Tim. vi, 15	Enoch ix, 4 ;
Heb. iv, 13	Enoch ix, 5 ;
Apocal. ii, 7 ; iii, 10 ; xiii, 14	Enoch xxv, 4, 5 ; xxxvii, 5 ; liv, 6 ;
Apocal. xx, 13	Enoch li, 1 :
II Peter ii, 4	Enoch x, 4–6, 12, 13 ;
Jude, verses 4, 6, 13	Enoch xlviii, 10 ; x, 5, 6 ; xviii, 15 ;
Jude, verse 8	Enoch lx, 8 ;
Jude, verses 14, 15	Enoch i, 9 ; v, 4 ; xxvii, 2.

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER VI.

Principal Apocryphal Books of the New Testament.

I. Apocryphal Gospels:
- First Group: Extant Gospels. Refer to
  - The Childhood of Jesus.
  - The Passion of Our Lord.
- Second Group: Gospels no longer extant:
  - The Gospel of Peter.
  - The Gospel according to the Hebrews.

II. Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles:
1. Names and general value.
2. Brief account of the principal Acts
   - Of the second century.
   - Of the third century.

III. Apocryphal Epistles:
1. Correspondence between St. Paul and the Corinthians.
2. The Epistle to the Laodiceans.
3. Correspondence between St. Paul and Seneca.

IV. Apocryphal Apocalypses:
1. The Revelation of Peter.
2. The Visiones Pauli.

CHAPTER VI.

PRINCIPAL APOCRYPHAL BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

§ 1. *Apocryphal Gospels.*

1. Apocryphal Gospels still Extant. It was but a short time after our canonical Gospels had begun to be widely circulated in the early churches, and had been fully approved for public use in Christian services, when pious believers in Christ, struck with the incompleteness of these authentic *Memoirs*, earnestly desired whatever additional information might be secured. Moreover, at that time, there were still disconnected stories and more or less local traditions put forth under the names of such Apostles as James, Thomas, etc., or intimately connected with the facts or personages barely mentioned in the canonical Gospels, so that it was only natural that some, at least, of the current stories or traditions should be written down and freely circulated with such titles as the Gospels of James, of Thomas, of the Infancy, etc. To these were soon added pure fictions, which were given also sacred names as a passport; and in this way a large apocryphal literature having some manner of connection with our Gospels was formed within the Church itself: it has received the general name of the *Apocryphal Gospels.*

It cannot be denied that most of the uncanonical productions have left but few traces in the writings of the Fathers of the Church, and that even the least fanciful among them are regarded by all as apocryphal and add little real information to the data supplied by our canonical sources. Yet, as the legends which they relate have exercised a very great influence upon the popular notions of the Middle Ages, as they are at times the only ground for certain popular beliefs about Our Lord, His Blessed Mother, His Apostles, etc., which survive down to the present day, and chiefly as the scenes which they describe have been often utilized in art and literature, some few remarks about them may be welcome here.[1] We shall therefore briefly speak of them under the two following heads: (*A*) Gospels referring to the Childhood of Jesus; (*B*) Gospels connected with His Passion.

(*A*) *Gospels Referring to the Childhood of Jesus.*[2] The first, and indeed least objectionable, apocryphal Gospel referring to the childhood of Jesus, is the so-called *Protevangelium Jacobi.* In its present form, it was not composed before the second century of our era, although it claims to be the work of James, the brother of the Lord. In its opening chapters it relates the angelic message to Anna and Joachim, announcing that they should have a child; the birth of Mary and her presentation in the Temple when three years of age, and her marriage to Joseph at the age of twelve. Then come the Annunciation, the journey to Bethlehem consequent on the enrolment prescribed by Augustus, and the birth of Jesus in a cave at Bethlehem, soon followed by the visit of the Magi. The book concludes with a narrative of the massacre of the Holy Innocents, and with the subscription of James.

It is easy to recognize in this book a historical ground-work, which is no other than certain facts recorded in our canonical Gospels, and which is clearly distinguishable from the additions supplied either by oral tradition or by written works concerning Mary and Joseph;[1] while the latter are childish tales, the former are solid staple of history. It cannot be denied that "the prodigies related by the Protevangelium Jacobi, in connection with Mary, indicate that at the time special attention and honor had begun to be paid to her."[2]

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[1] Moreover, a study of the Apocryphal Gospels clearly proves their posteriority and inferiority to our canonical records of Our Lord's life and teachings; (cfr. VIGOUROUX, Manuel Biblique, vol. i, n. 69).

[2] For an English translation, cfr. B. H. COWPER, the Apocryphal Gospels; and Alex. WALKER, Apocryphal Gospels, Acts and Revelations, in vol. xvi of the Ante-Nicene Library (T. T. Clark, Edinburgh).

Another apocryphal writing connected with the childhood of Jesus, and going back also to the second century of our era, is the *Gospel of Thomas*.[3] It has reached us in different recensions (Greek, Latin, Syriac), and apparently in a very mutilated form.[4] The book is supposed to describe the infancy of Jesus; in reality, it is made up of fictitious stories in which the puerile, extravagant, and even cruel character of the miracles ascribed to the divine Child are in striking contrast with that of the miracles recorded in our canonical Gospels.

Through a combination of facts found in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, with data supplied by the two Apocryphal Gospels already mentioned, there arose somewhere about the fifth or the sixth century of our era[5] another uncanonical writing now known under the name of the *Arabic Gospel of the Infancy*. The first nine chapters cover pretty much the same ground as the chapters xvii-xxv of the Protevangelium Jacobi, for they relate the events commencing with the journey of Joseph and Mary to Bethlehem to the massacre of the Holy Innocents. The second part (chaps. xx–xxxv), "relates at length what is feigned to have happened during the flight into Egypt, the sojourn there, and the return of the Holy Family. It is the product of an extravagant imagination, and is most likely a collection of Egyptian tales, invented and compiled with the intention of glorifying the Lord's Mother as the chief minister of His divine power and favor."[1] On the other hand, the third part of this Gospel (chaps. xxxvi–lv) bears some resemblance to the Gospel of Thomas. It records events supposed to have happened between the seventh and the twelfth years of Our Lord's life, together with a brief mention of His subsequent life to His thirtieth year, and of His baptism in the Jordan.

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[1] The latter is the supposition advanced by Harnack, Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur (cfr. Vigouroux, Dictionnaire de la Bible, art. Evangiles apocryphes, p. 2115).

[2] B. H. Cowper, The Apocryphal Gospels, p. liii.

[3] In its primitive form it seems to have been known to St. Irenæus (Against Hæres., Book i. chap. xx, § 1,) and perhaps to St. Justin (Dial. with Trypho, chap. lxxxviii).

[4] These recensions have been rendered into English by B. H. Cowper, opere cit.

[5] Traces of it are found in the *Koran*, Suras (i. e. chaps.) iii, v, xix.

The last Gospel referring to the childhood of Jesus which we shall mention here[2] is called the *History of Joseph the Carpenter*. Like the preceding, it has come down to us only through the Arabic, and goes back to about the fifth century after Christ. The writer, whose object is clearly to exalt Joseph in the eyes of his readers, introduces Jesus as telling to His disciples the history of His foster-father. Joseph is herein described as a priest, married, and having six children. After the death of his wife, he is espoused to Mary, who soon conceives and gives birth to Jesus in Bethlehem. The flight into Egypt and return to Nazareth are next mentioned, and the rest of the book is taken up with a long account of the last days of Joseph, of his terrors at the approach of death, and finally of his decease and burial, "after he had completed one hundred and eleven years."

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[1] B. H. COWPER, the Apocryphal Gospel, p. 170.

[2] Of the other two Apocryphal Gospels which are usually connected with the childhood of Jesus, the one entitled the *Gospel of the Nativity of Mary*, is most likely a Latin translation and adaptation of the Protevangelium Jacobi, while the other called the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*, or of the Infancy of Mary and Jesus, is probably derived from both the Protevangelium Jacobi and the Gospel of Thomas (cfr. SALMON, Introduction to the New Testament, Lect. xi).

"This book is characterized by features by no means devoid of interest, although most improbable, unreasonable, and in the worst possible taste. The marvellous and the supernatural abound, and the writer is not always careful to be consistent even with himself; his audacity in ascribing the narration to Our Lord, and in claiming the same authority for the observance of the annual commemoration of Joseph, will be apparent to every reader.[1]"

(B) *Gospels Referring to the Passion of Our Lord.* Only two really distinct narratives of this kind have come down to us: these are the *Acta Pilati*, or "Acts of Our Lord Jesus Christ wrought in the time of Pontius Pilate," and the *Descensus Christi ad Inferos.* Since the sixteenth century they are usually published under the common name of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, but beyond the fact that their narrative bears on the last scenes mentioned in our canonical records, they have but little in common, for they are works of different dates, contents, and authorship.

The first part of what is now called the Gospel of Nicodemus, details the trial, crucifixion, burial, resurrection and ascension of Jesus, mentioning carefully the marvellous incidents connected with these events, and the attitude of the friends and enemies of Our Saviour. In its present form, it can hardly be older than the fourth century of our era, although a much higher antiquity was formerly assigned to it, on the ground that St. Justin had it in view when he referred to the *Acta Pilati*[2] as still preserved in the imperial records. The best critics, however, suppose that the holy martyr did not himself know of such document, and simply took it for granted that Pontius Pilate had sent to the Emperor Tiberius an account of his doings concerning Our Lord. St. Epiphanius († 403) seems to be the earliest ecclesiastical writer acquainted with our apocryphal writing.[1]

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[1] B. H. Cowper, loc. cit., p. 100.

[2] First Apology, chaps. xxxv, xlviii. Naturally enough, numerous apocryphal writings gathered around the name of Pilate, such as the Letter of Pilate to Tiberius, the Letters of Herod and Pilate, the Report of Pilate, the Governor, the Trial and Condemnation of Pilate, the Death of Pilate, etc, (cfr. B. H. Cowper, Apocryphal Gospels, p. 388, sqq.).

The second part of the Gospel of Nicodemus contains an account of the Descent of Christ to the Underworld. Lucius and Carinus, two of the saints who were raised at Our Lord's resurrection, relate how, during their confinement in Hades, they beheld with delight the appearance of Jesus at its entrance, how they saw its *brazen* gates broken and its numerous prisoners released, and finally how the Conqueror "went to paradise, holding the forefather Adam by the hand, and delivered him, and all the righteous, to the archangel Michael." The exact date to which this *Descensus Christi ad Inferos* should be referred, cannot, of course, be determined. The earliest witness to it is, indeed, Eusebius of Alexandria (fifth century),[2] but several things go to show that it is of very great antiquity.[3]

2. Gospels no Longer Extant. It would be a long and useless task to reproduce here the list of all the apocryphal Gospels which are known to us only by their title, or by a few passages still found in some one or other of the great ecclesiastical writers of the third and fourth centuries. Issuing from heretical pens, and written for the purpose of spreading or supporting heterodox doctrines, these productions were naturally looked upon with suspicion by Catholic writers at their first appearance, and soon afterward put under the public ban of the Church, so that being practically confined within the narrow limits of a sect, they gradually ceased to be circulated, and ultimately disappeared.[1] Two of these writings, however, deserve here a special notice, viz., the *Gospel of Peter*, and the *Gospel According to the Hebrews*.

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[1] St. Epiphanius, Against Heresies (Heres. L.).

[2] About this writer, who should not be confounded with Eusebius of Cæsarea, cfr. Schaff-Herzog, Encyclopædia of Religious Knowledge, § v.

[3] Cfr. Salmon, Introduction to the New Testament, 8th edit., pp. 183, 184.

The first of these Gospels, a short fragment of which was dug up in 1886 in an ancient cemetery at Akhmim (Upper Egypt) was well known to EUSEBIUS of Cæsarea, who classed it among the heretical books which must be absolutely rejected, and to SERAPION, Bishop of Antioch from 190 to 210 A.D., who forbade its public use in churches.[2] It is clearly the work of the Docetæ of the second century, and it was most likely composed in Syria, where we first hear of it. In speaking of St. Justin's acquaintance with our canonical Gospels we already stated that the holy martyr never used, if he knew at all, the apocryphal Gospel of Peter.[3]

Of much greater importance in the history of the New Testament writings is the second Gospel above mentioned, for speaking of it under the name of the *Gospel of the Nazarenes*, St. Jerome considers it as the Hebrew original of our Greek canonical Gospel according to St. Matthew. Again, many ecclesiastical writers, among whom St. Justin († 163), were acquainted with it, and during the third and fourth centuries Hebrew-speaking sectaries used it as the genuine work of our first Evangelist. It is therefore a very ancient production, but as far as can be judged from the fragments which have come down to us, it has no right to originality as compared with our canonical Gospel. This is the almost unanimous verdict of Rationalistic[1] as well as of conservative scholars, and it is not improbable that, in holding a different view, St. Jerome yielded somewhat to his well-known bias for whatever smacked of the *Hebraica Veritas*. Be this as it may, it is unquestionable that our canonical Gospel of St. Matthew is incomparably superior in originality and simplicity to the apocryphal Gospel according to the Hebrews.

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[1] A well-nigh full list of the no longer extant Apocryphal Gospels is given in SCHAFF-HERZOG, Encyclopædia of Religious Knowledge, art *Apocrypha* of the New Testament.

[2] Serapion's letter has been preserved by EUSEBIUS, Eccles. Hist., Book vi, chap. xii.

[3] For further details, see the translation of the newly-discovered fragment published in 1892, by J. A. Robinson and M. R. James; see, also, SALMON, Introd. to the New Test., 8th edit., Appendix iii.

§ 2. *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles.*[2]

1. Names and General Value. As might naturally be expected, apocryphal writings connected with the other books of the New Testament beside the Gospels, appeared during the early ages of Christianity. Most of these productions under the different names of Acts (*Πράξεις*), Circuits (*Περίοδοι*), Miracles (*Θαυμάτα*), Martyrdom (*Μαρτύριον*, *Τελείωσις*), profess to record the apostolic labors of the first preachers of the Gospel, and are on that account usually designated under the general name of the *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*. The principal among them are in the second century the Acts of Paul and Thecla, the Acts of St. John, those of St. Peter and St. Paul and of St. Andrew; and in the third century, the Acts ascribed to St. Thomas, the Teaching of Addai (Thaddæus), and the Clementine Recognitions.[3]

If we except the last of these apocryphal writings, they all seem to have taken their origin in heretical circles, and despite their alterations and recastings by orthodox hands, bear still traces of the tenets of the sects for the use of which they were originally composed. In the early Christian ages Ebionites, Gnostics, Encratites, etc., were busily engaged writing tales of wonders wrought by the Apostles, which would have a lively interest for heretics and orthodox alike, and by means of which doctrinal errors would be easily propagated. Of course, no faithful Catholic individual or community ever dreamt of setting any other record of apostolic labors and sufferings on the same level as the inspired Acts of the Apostles by St. Luke, so that this branch of Christian literature was less closely watched over by ecclesiastical authority than would certainly have been the case, if attempts at *canonizing* it had been made in the Church. As a consequence, these apocryphal books fell easily into the hands of Catholics, and were circulated freely among them under the form of expurgated copies which, whilst containing the events whose substance was supposed to be faithfully recorded, had been rendered inoffensive to orthodox readers by the correction or removal of whatever was deemed objectionable. It is clear, therefore, that beside the fact that these apocryphal writings presuppose the existence of our canonical book of the Acts, and prove its incomparable superiority by way of contrast, all such compositions add very little, if anything, to our knowledge of the manner in which our New Testament writings were composed and finally gathered up into one authoritative collection. It cannot be denied, however, that a careful study of their contents may at times light up the path of the Catholic interpreter, and because of this we shall give a brief account of the most important among them.

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[1] This is the view of such anti-traditional writers as Strauss, Renan, Keim, Lipsius, and Weizsäcker. A good discussion of the question of St. Matthew's originality will be found in SALMON, ibid., p. 163, sqq.

[2] An English translation of the Apocryphal Acts may be found in vol. xvi of the Ante-Nicene Library (T. T. Clark).

[3] The most important works to be consulted in connection with the Apocryphal Acts are FABRICIUS, Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti; TISCHENDORF, Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha; WM. WRIGHT, Apocryphal Acts (Syriac) of the Apostles; LIPSIUS, Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden. For a concise account of the principal Apocryphal Acts, cfr. P. BATIFFOL, art. Actes Apocryphes, in VIGOUROUX, Dictionnaire de la Bible, p. 159, sqq.; and especially SALMON, Introduction to the New Testament, 8th edit., Lect. xix, pp. 325–355.

2. **Brief Account of the Principal Acts of the Second and Third Centuries.** Obviously it is no easy task

at the present day to define whether and to what extent an apocryphal book of *Acts* has been altered for orthodox purposes, and this seems to be particularly the case with the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*. The scene of that historical romance—which has come down to us very little expurgated from its primitive Encratic errors[1]—is laid in Asia Minor and in those parts of it which adjoin Proconsular Asia. The writer relates how, after a sermon of Paul in Iconium, a virgin named Thecla broke her intended marriage with Thamyris, the chief man of the city. This was followed by the arrest of Paul, his trial before the proconsul, and his expulsion from Iconium. Thecla, saved miraculously from the flames, to which she had been sentenced by her own mother, rejoined Paul, and obtained from him the permission to accompany him to Antioch. There she was submitted to new and severe trials on the part of the Syriarch Alexander, who had been charmed with her beauty; but she overcame them all through divine intervention. After Paul had taken leave of her, Thecla continued to a great age at Seleucia, living on herbs and water, and making many converts to the faith of Christ.

This story was known to Tertullian († ab. 220), who states that a presbyter of Asia had confessed his authorship of the work and was thereupon degraded. It was also known to a large number of Fathers (Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory of Nazianzen, etc.), who, differently from Tertullian and Jerome, looked upon it as genuine. The Acts of Paul and Thecla were probably composed about 175 A.D. by a writer who modelled his work after Gnostic Acts which had been published some time before.

Among the Gnostic writings after the pattern of which the Acts of Paul and Thecla may have been written, we must reckon the *Acts of St. John*, which left so many traces on Church tradition. As far as can be gathered from the twofold Latin recension of these Acts which has long been known in the West under the names of Prochorus [1] and Melito, and from the Greek fragments recently published,[2] this apocryphal work goes back to about the middle of the second century, and is probably identical with the Acts ascribed to Leucius, parts of which were read in the second Council of Nicæa (787 A.D.),[3] and declared heretical. It is in these Acts that we find it stated that Jesus interposed three times in order to prevent the beloved disciple from marrying, and that John's virginity had been the reason of his special privileges, notably of having had the Virgin Mary committed to his care by his dying Master. From the same Acts of St. John is probably derived the tradition found in the Canon of Muratori and repeated by Clement of Alexandria and St. Jerome, to the effect that John's composition of the fourth Gospel originated in the request of the bishops of Asia that the beloved disciple should write a Gospel which would put a stop to the inroads of the Ebionite heresy. Finally, to the same apocryphal book goes back most likely the legend of John having been cast into burning oil, and taken out unhurt.[4]

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[1] SALMON, loc. cit., p. 333, admits with Baronius (Annales) and Grabe (Spicilegium sanctorum Patrum) that "the extant is the original form" of the Acts of Paul and Thecla.

Two other apocryphal Acts which are certainly Gnostic in their origin, are the *Acts of St. Peter and St. Paul*, and those of *St. Andrew*. The first of these has come down to us in two Latin recensions, bearing the names of Popes

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[1] The recension of Prochorus was published for the first time by DE LA BIGNE, Bibliotheca Maxima Patrum, vol. ii., cols. 185–230.

[2] The best edition of these Greek fragments is that of ZAHN, Acta Joannis, Erlangen, 1882.

[3] Cfr. LABBE (edit. Hardouin), Acta Conciliorum, vol. iv, p. 295, sq.

[4] Cfr. SALMON, loc. cit., p. 351, sqq

Linus[1] and Marcellus, which are not older than the fourth century of our era, but may be referred ultimately to a more ancient work entitled *Περίοδοι Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου*, fragments of which in the Greek have been recently published.[2] A very important Greek fragment of the Acts of St. Andrew and Matthew has also been recently edited. It relates how Matthew, having been made captive in a country of cannibals, Andrew was sent to his rescue by Our Lord. In the guise of a seaman, Andrew reached that land with his disciples, delivered Matthew, but was submitted to terrible torments for several days. As, however, he caused a flood to inundate the city in which he was detained, the final result was a general conversion of the inhabitants. Plainly this story has but little in common with the Catholic work commonly known as the *Epistola encyclica presbyterorum et diaconorum Achiaæ de martyrio Sancti Andreæ* which describes Andrew's martyrdom in Patras by order of the proconsul Ægeas, because his preaching had induced Maximilla, the wife of the proconsul, to leave her husband.[3]

Of the apocryphal Acts to be ascribed to the third century, none are more unquestionably Gnostic in character than the *Acts of Thomas*.[4] After much tergiversation, Thomas agreed to go to India, the country which had been allotted to him in the division of the world between the Twelve, to lend his services to a powerful king in the construction of a magnificent palace. On the way, the ship touched at a city whose king was making a marriage for his only daughter. The marriage was blessed by Thomas, and on the very bridal night, Jesus, appearing under the form of His Apostle, induced the young people to practise virginity. To this they pledged themselves, to the great displeasure of the king, who would have apprehended Thomas, had he not already sailed away. Arrived in India, the Apostle received plentiful means for building the royal palace he had agreed upon, but instead of erecting it he reared a spiritual edifice by his preaching, alms and miracles, making numerous converts whom he baptized, christened and admitted at the eucharistic banquet. The king was greatly incensed at such conduct, but, through a wonderful intervention of heaven, he was converted and received baptism. Then it was that Thomas started on a new journey which resulted in his martyrdom.

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[1] The Pseudo-Linus Acts are found in de la Bigne, Bibliotheca Maxima Patrum, vol. ii, cols. 231–246 (Paris edit., 1576).

[2] The English translation of the Pseudo-Marcellus is found in vol. xvi of the Ante-Nicene Library (T. T. Clark).

[3] For bibliographic references, see Hastings, Dict. of the Bible, art. Andrew, p. 93. For the translation of the Greek fragments and the Latin "Epistola," see vol. xvi of the Ante-Nicene Library (T. T. Clark).

[4] Salmon, Introduction to the New Testament, ascribes the Acts of Thomas to the second century.

Such is the substance of these Acts which have come down to us in a very complete form, and which are well worth studying because of their description of the Gnostic ritual and also because of their copious use of the writings of the New Testament. Two facts especially lead us to think of Syria as the place where the Acts of St. Thomas originated; the first is that they know nothing of the second and third Epistles of St. John, of the second Epistle of St. Peter and of the Epistle of St. Jude, which were still absent from the old Syriac version of the New Testament; the second is that they agree in several particulars with the *Teaching of Addai*, an apocryphal writing originally composed in Syriac.[1]

The coincidences just referred to between the Acts of Thomas and the Teaching of Addai are all the more remarkable, because, while the former work is filled with Gnosticism, the latter is absolutely untainted by heretical views. In the Teaching of Addai or Thaddæus we are told that the King of Edessa (in Northern Mesopotamia) Abgar Oukhâmâ,[1] being afflicted with an incurable disease, and having heard of the wonderful deeds of Jesus, sent messengers to Him with a letter wherein he invited Christ to come to Edessa to heal him and share his throne, far from the plots which the Jews were contriving against Him. Jesus answers that He must fulfil His mission in Judæa, and afterwards be taken up to Him by whom He had been sent, but promises at the same time that, before returning to His Father, He would charge one of His Apostles with restoring the monarch to health. Addai, to whose lot it fell to preach the Gospel in Mesopotamia, started soon after Pentecost, for that country, where he healed the King and one of his courtiers likewise stricken with an incurable disease. Then it was that the Apostle caused all the inhabitants of the capital to be gathered in the market-place, preached to them and converted them all, Jews and pagans alike. Thereupon Addai caused the heathen temples to be destroyed, and built the first Edessan church, which he governed to the end of his life. When about to die, he appointed to succeed him Aggai, whom he had raised to the priesthood, and when dead he was buried in the magnificent mausoleum of the Kings of Edessa.

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[1] SALMON, loc. cit., has some valuable pages on the Acts of St. Thomas. For an English translation of these Acts, see vol. xvi of the Ante-Nicene Library, p. 389, sqq.

Of course, the Teaching of Addai is not historical ;[2] it is a legend which was well known to Eusebius, and which has come down to us under different forms. It has, however, exercised a great influence upon Syriac history and literature ; still it has really little connection with the question of the Canon of the New Testament, beyond the fact that in the decretal ascribed to St. Gelasius, *de libris recipiendis*, two of its parts, the Epistles of Abgar to Jesus, and of Jesus to Abgar, are reckoned among the apocryphal writings.

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[1] Abgar V, son of Manou, who reigned in Edessa at the beginning of the Christian era.

[2] In connection with this point and with all that concerns the Teaching of Addai, cfr. R. DUVAL, La Littérature Syrienne, pp. 103–116 (Paris, 1899) ; cfr. also, VIGOUROUX, Dictionnaire de la Bible, art. Abgar, col. 37, sq.

The last work to be mentioned here is one of a very different character, and, according to the Tübingen school, one of incomparably greater importance for the history of the New Testament writings. It is known under the name of the *Recognitions of Clement* from its supposed author and from the successive recognitions first of his mother, next of his brothers, then of his father by St. Clement while travelling about with St. Peter. In the form of it which has come down to us in a Latin translation by Rufinus († 410 A.D.),[1] we are told how Clement having lost his parents in early childhood was brought up as a rich orphan at Rome; how he earnestly searched after that religious truth which he could not find in philosophical systems; and how at last he heard in the Roman capital of the appearance in Judæa of a great wonder-worker. He therefore sailed in search of Him, but arrived only after the death of Jesus. Having met Peter at Cæsarea he was instructed and converted by him. At Peter's request, Clement agreed to remain in Palestine during a disputation which was soon to take place between the Prince of the Apostles and Simon the magician. This disputation lasted three days, after which the defeated magician took to flight. Peter pursued him, accompanied by Clement, and having finally overtaken his adversary, completely silenced him after a four days' disputation.

It cannot be denied, as Baur and his school pointed out, that this romantic story serves only as a framework to doctrinal views, and notably to anti-Paulinist tenets. St. Paul and his labors are ignored, while St. Peter figures as the Apostle of the Jews and the Gentiles alike, and in a parallel narrative of the same story, called the Clementine *Homilies*, it is clear that under the cloak of Simon the magician withstanding Peter to his face, Paul is really intended by the writer, etc. We must therefore admit that the author of the Clementine *Recognitions* shows a covert dislike to the great Apostle of the Gentiles; but it does not follow therefrom, as maintained by Baur, that he is the representative of the Jewish-Christian element which was so opposed to St. Paul in the earliest days of the Church.[1] On the contrary, it is beyond doubt, as unbiased historical criticism has proved, that the heretical doctrines set forth in the *Clementines* are those of a Jewish sect which developed only later and on considerably different lines of thought and practice from those of the primitive adversaries of the great Apostle.[2] As a consequence, the theory framed by Baur to test the genuineness of our canonical writings by their position of antipathy, favor or neutrality toward St. Peter and St. Paul, and which rested to a large extent on the hypothesis of a very early date for the views in the Clementine *Recognitions* and *Homilies* had to be, and has actually been, given up by unprejudiced scholars.

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[1] The Latin Text will be found in COTELIER, PSS. Patres Apostol., vol. i., p. 485, sqq.; an English translation of it has been published in the Ante-Nicene Library, vol. iii, pp. 137–471.

§ 3. *Apocryphal Epistles.*

1. **Correspondence between St. Paul and the Corinthians.** Leaving aside the apocryphal letters of Abgar to Jesus and of Jesus to Abgar, to which reference has already been made,[3] we shall first mention briefly the correspondence which did indeed exist between St. Paul and the Corinthians,[4] but of which only unauthentic remains

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[1] Cfr. Outlines of New Testament History, Part ii.

[2] Cfr. Salmon, Introduction to the New Testament, p. 15, sqq. (8th edition).

[3] An English translation of these letters is given in the *Apocryphal Gospels* published by B. H. Cowper, pp. 219, 220.

[4] Cfr. I Cor. vii, 1; v, 9.

have come down to us. Besides our two canonical Epistles to the Corinthians, there are two others extant in some Armenian MSS., one claiming to be from the faithful of Corinth to St. Paul, the other from St. Paul to the Corinthians. The former, made up of eighteen verses, denounces to the Apostle "the sinful words of perverse teachers" who are attempting to spread their errors in Corinth, and begs of him that he should write or even come to them in order "that the folly of such men may be made manifest by an open refutation." In the second letter—it is called in the Armenian MSS., the "*third* Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians," because of its place after our canonical Epistles—St. Paul solemnly proclaims the right belief against the perverse men who disturb the faithful of Corinth, condemns their errors, insists particularly on the future resurrection of the flesh by means of examples drawn from nature and from Holy Writ, and concludes by exhorting the Corinthians to drive from among them that "generation of vipers," those "children of dragons and basilisks."[1]

Of course these letters are spurious: they were unknown to the early writers of the Church, and are made up mostly of thoughts and expressions borrowed from the genuine Epistles of St. Paul. They were clearly suggested by the words of our first Epistle to the Corinthians, "Now concerning the things of which you wrote" (chap. vii, 1), and "In that letter I wrote to you not to be associated with fornicators" (chap. v, 9); and in the present day their genuineness is denied by all.[2]

2. The Epistle to the Laodiceans. This Epistle owes also its origin to a passage from a genuine Epistle of St.

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[1] The joint translation of these Epistles by Lord Byron and Father Aucher, in 1817, is given by STANLEY, Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians, p. 593, sqq. (4th edit.).

[2] For the principal grounds *for* and *against* this genuineness, see STANLEY, loc. cit., p. 591, sq. Cfr. also GLOAG, Introduction to the Epistles of St. Paul, p. 27, sqq.

Paul (Coloss. iv, 16), where we read: "And when this letter shall have been read with you, cause that it be read also in the church of the Laodiceans: and that you read that which is of the Laodiceans."[1] It was originally written in Greek, but is extant only in a Latin translation, found in several MSS. of the Latin Vulgate.[2] After giving thanks to God for the perseverance of the Laodiceans in well-doing, St. Paul warns them against the words of seducers. He then speaks of his chains, which he rejoices to be laden with for the sake of Christ, exhorts them to retain his doctrine "in the fear of God," doing what they know to be in accordance with the divine will, and concludes by his usual salutation.

Some scholars (among whom SALMON, Introduction to the New Testament) feel an instinctive repugnance to admit that this short and really insignificant letter is referred to in so early a document as the Muratorian Canon, and simply affirm that St. Jerome († 420) is the first witness to its existence. As long as an *Epistola ad Laodicenses* is mentioned as apocryphal in the Canon of Muratori, and as no other uncanonical Epistle can be shown to have circulated between 170 A.D., the approximate date of that Canon, and the time of St. Jerome, it seems to us only natural to admit that our extant Epistle to the Laodiceans is identical with that which is spoken of in the Muratorian list. But however ancient its fabrication, the Epistle has plainly no right to be considered as original. Almost all its nineteen verses are made up of words borrowed from the Epistles to the Colossians, Ephesians and Philippians.

3. Correspondence between St. Paul and Seneca.

A series of letters which do not exhibit such striking marks of spuriousness were formerly believed to be the genuine correspondence between the Apostle of the Gentiles and the Roman philosopher, Seneca. It was supposed on the basis of some passages of the New Testament which speak of St. Paul's sojourn in Rome[1] and of his acquaintance with Gallio,[2] Seneca's brother, that the pagan moralist was introduced in the Roman capital to the great Apostle, and that our fourteen extant letters are the result of their friendly relations. It was also added as a confirmation of this view that Seneca had certainly come under the influence of Christianity, seeing that his genuine works bear the impress of evangelical thought and expression, and even contain numerous and striking coincidences with the Epistles of St. Paul.[3] Finally, it was stated that St. Jerome in the fourth century of our era speaks of letters exchanged between Paul and Seneca,[4] and that the Epistles which have come down to us are identical with them.

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[1] The Greek has "*τὴν ἐκ Λαοδικείας*" the more probable meaning of which is "the letter written *to* Laodicea and sent again *from* Laodicea." (WINER, Grammar of the Idiom of the New Testament, p. 629) (7th edition, Andover, 1877).

[2] The Latin Text is given by WESTCOTT, in Appendix E, to his History of the Canon of the New Testament.

Of course it would be too long to discuss these arguments in detail; to show, for instance, by a careful examination of the passages appealed to in the works of Seneca, that, despite their apparent Christian coloring, they are nothing but Stoic expressions, whose spirit is very different from the spirit of the Gospel.[5] Suffice it to say here, that a close examination of the fourteen letters supposed to have passed between St. Paul and Seneca proves that they are "inane and unworthy throughout; that the style of either correspondent is unlike his genuine writings; that the relations between the two, as there represented, are highly improbable; and lastly, that the chronological notices (which, however, are absent in some important manuscripts) are wrong in almost every instance."[1] The whole correspondence was forged probably in the fourth century of our era, either to recommend Seneca to Christian readers or to recommend Christianity to students of Seneca, for in several MSS. these spurious letters precede the genuine works of the Roman philosopher.[2]

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[1] Acts of the Apostles, xxviii, 30; Philip. i, 13; II Tim. iv, 17.

[2] Acts xviii, 12, sqq.

[3] The passages are carefully pointed out by J. B. LIGHTFOOT, St. Paul and Seneca, in Dissertations on the Apostolic Age, p. 258, sqq., and in Comm. on Epistle to Philippians, p. 276, sqq.

[4] St. JEROME, De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, chap. xii.

[5] This is a conclusion of E. REUSS, in his art. on Seneca, in SCHAFF-HERZOG, Encyclopædia of Religious Knowledge.

§ 4. *Apocryphal Apocalypses.*

1. The Revelation of Peter. As there are apocryphal Gospels, Acts, and Epistles, so are there also apocryphal Apocalypses, one of which, the *Revelation of Peter*, was little more than a name till 1886, when nearly half of its text was discovered in Egypt, together with the fragment of the Gospel of Peter already referred to. Few, if any, apocryphal writings have been retained longer in use for public services than this Apocalypse or Revelation of Peter, for about the middle of the fifth century it was still read on Good Friday in some of the churches of Palestine,[3] and at a much later date (ninth century) it appeared still on the list of Nicephorus, which was probably made for practical purposes in the church of Jerusalem.[4] This is indeed a clear proof of the popularity of our book, but none whatever of its canonicity: if the Muratorian Canon refers really to it, it is with a caution, while Eusebius[5] and Sozomen are most explicit in declaring that its spurious and uncanonical character has long been recognized in the Christian Church.

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[1] J. B. LIGHTFOOT, Dissertations on the Apostolic Age, p. 319.

[2] Cfr. LIGHTFOOT, loc. cit., p. 318.

[3] SOZOMEN, Ecclesiastical History, Book vii, chap. xix.

[4] Cfr. JAMES, A Lecture on the Revelation of Peter, p. 46 (London, 1892). This valuable little publication of Prof. James contains the text and translation of the newly discovered fragment and of the passages already known of the Revelation of Peter.

[5] Cfr EUSEBIUS, Ecclesiastical History, Book iii, chap. iii.

The newly-discovered fragment contains three distinct parts. The first and shortest is an eschatological discourse of Our Lord after His resurrection. Then comes, at the request of Peter, a vision of the heavenly glory bestowed on the righteous; finally, the place and various kinds of torments reserved for the wicked are described at considerable length. It is true that the name of Peter is not once explicitly given in the recovered text, but it is certainly implied, so that the fragment is really a part of the apocryphal writing quoted by ancient ecclesiastical writers as "the Apocalypse of Peter." A further and still more convincing proof of this is, that a passage occurs in our fragment which is practically identical with a quotation from the Apocalypse of Peter, by Clement of Alexandria.[1]

As far as can be gathered from the study of all the extant fragments of the Revelation of Peter, it seems that its close literary resemblance with our second Epistle of St. Peter [2] shows that its composition was suggested by such passages of this canonical Epistle as refer to the day of the Lord and to the torments which await the wicked.

2. The Visiones Pauli. It is also a passage of one of our New Testament writings, where St. Paul declares that he has been favored with "visions and revelations of the Lord" (II Cor. xii, 1, sqq.), which led a compiler to write the *Apocalypse of Paul* or *Visiones Pauli.* The contents of this apocryphal book are briefly as follows: Under the guidance of an angel St. Paul contemplates first the joy of the holy angels who give glory to God because of the pious men who spend their life in the fear of the Lord. Next it is given him to witness the judgment of both righteous and unrighteous immediately after their death. Then comes a vision of the heavenly mansions wherein the just enjoy a ten thousand-fold reward, and this is soon followed by the sight of the infernal regions with their awful torments. The book concludes with a fresh visit to heaven, where Paul is greeted by " holy Mary, the Mother of the Lord " and by the saintly patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament.[1]

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[1] Cfr. JAMES, loc. cit., p. 72, sq.

[2] The series of literary resemblances between the second Epistle of St. Peter and the Revelation of Peter are given by JAMES, loc. cit., p. 52, sq (note).

The perfect orthodoxy of the author of the *Visiones Pauli* cannot be questioned, but such is not the case with his originality, despite his pretension to record mysteries revealed to no one but to the Apostle of the Gentiles. Besides our writings of the New Testament, which he naturally utilizes, he borrows freely from more ancient apocalypses, among which we must reckon in a special manner the Revelation of Peter.[2] Indeed, originality would have been a hard task at the late date at which he wrote, viz., during the last years of the fourth century; and further, it is not improbable that the Apocalypse of Paul was intended from the first to be what it soon became afterwards, a work of edification for persons leading a religious life,[3] so that it mattered little whether or not it was devoid of originality.

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[1] The English translation of this work from the Greek is found in the xvith volume of the Ante-Nicene Library (T. T. Clark, Edinburgh).

[2] For resemblances as to thought and expression between the Apocalypses of Peter and of Paul see JAMES, loc. cit., p. 66, sq.

[3] SOZOMEN speaks of the Apocalypse of the Apostle Paul as "still esteemed by most of the monks" (Ecclesiastical History, Book vii, chap. xix).

PART SECOND.

BIBLICAL TEXTUAL CRITICISM.

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER VII.

Nature and Divisions of Biblical Criticism.

I. Its Nature:
   1. Notion of Biblical criticism.
   2. Its constructive and destructive aspects.

II. Higher Criticism:
   1. Real meaning of the name.
   2. Problems connected with
      - Integrity,
      - Authenticity,
      - Literary Form,
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      Of the Sacred Writings.
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III. Textual Criticism:
   1. Its starting point: the various readings of the Sacred Text.
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      - Manuscripts,
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   3. Principal rules to determine the relative value of the various readings.
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      - Of the Text.
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CHAPTER VII.

NATURE AND DIVISIONS OF BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

§ 1. *Nature of Biblical Criticism.*

1. **Notion of Biblical Criticism.** The history of the Canon which we have sketched out so far proves simply, though conclusively, that the Catholic Bible contains none but books which, on strictly scientific grounds, have a right to belong to the collection of the inspired writings of the Old and of the New Testaments. It does not enable us to determine either the time and manner of their composition, or the extent of correctness with which they have been transmitted in the course of ages. These are further questions which form the special subject-matter of another branch of Introduction to the study of Holy Writ, known under the name of *Biblical Criticism.*

It is indeed true that the *divine* element peculiar to the sacred books does not fall within the range of criticism, but it is not so with the *human* element which they have in common with other literary productions. Though inspired and divine, they bear the unmistakable impress of the time, place, literary methods, etc., of their respective authors, and to all these literary features the biblical scholar may reverently yet scientifically apply the canons of criticism which are in vigor, to ascertain and determine the true origin and character of ancient writings. Again, though watched over in a special manner by divine Providence in the course of ages, the inspired books of the Canon have been transcribed during many centuries by all manner of copyists whose ignorance and carelessness they still bear witness to, and it is only proper that we should have recourse to the art of criticism in order to eliminate the textual errors which can still be discovered, and restore the sacred text as far as possible to its genuine form.

2. Constructive and Destructive Aspects of Biblical Criticism. The foregoing remarks show plainly that the ultimate aim of Biblical Criticism is no other than to secure results of a positive character, viz., to ascertain the real author of a book or of a part of a book, to point out its special literary form, to vindicate its reliability, to determine accurately the primitive reading of a passage, etc. As any other branch of human science, this part of Biblical Introduction gathers up data, ascertains facts, builds up theories, imparts accurate information concerning the questions it inquires into, and in many other ways contributes positively to the increase of man's knowledge. We must grant, however, that side by side with, and indeed because of its *constructive* aim and method, Biblical Criticism has also a *destructive* aspect. To reach scientific truth it has, in connection with several points, to put aside time-honored theories which do not tally with recently-ascertained facts. Again, through lack of documents, or because of insufficient examination of those newly discovered, or for other reasons, it has often to be satisfied with stating only negative conclusions. At other times, all that it can offer as a substitute for the positive but erroneous explanations which were readily accepted as true in the past, consists in conjectural or more or less probable solutions of difficult but very important problems, and in this manner, also, Biblical Criticism seems to do destructive rather than constructive work. Yet even this destructive work of Biblical Criticism is not carried on for its own sake, but rather with a view to clear the ground, lay down deeper and more solid foundations for a new and more substantial structure, or simply to remodel and strengthen parts of the old edifice of scriptural science. In short, the destructive process of Biblical Criticism is subordinate and subservient to its subsequent and constructive purposes.

§ 2. *The Higher Criticism.*

1. Real Meaning of the Name. It cannot be denied that in our century, the destructive work of Biblical Criticism has been carried on mostly in that department of it which is usually designated under the name of *Higher Criticism.* It is apparently also in this department that less constructive work has been achieved, or at least has become known to the public at large. Again, Rationalistic scholars have been foremost in claiming its verdict in favor of their irreligious notions and of their negative conclusions. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the eyes of many the name of Higher Criticism is nothing but a high-sounding word under which lurk the aim and principles of unbelief. In reality, the name is not an arrogant and self-laudatory title. It simply suggests that the topics dealt with in this department of Biblical Criticism are of greater importance than those which are examined in another department of this branch of study, known as *Textual* or *Lower Criticism.* While the latter, in its efforts to restore the sacred text to its genuine form, examines and rejects erroneous readings and points out the primitive reading of individual passages, the former rises higher when it endeavors by the careful study of whole books or parts of books to determine their genuineness and other literary characteristics. The name of Higher Criticism is not therefore a cloak which covers

Rationalistic views and methods. It was employed a century ago by Jahn, an eminent Catholic professor in the University of Vienna, who declared openly that as regards "the books of the Old Testament this kind of criticism is absolutely necessary;"[1] and in a more recent period, Catholic scholars in France, Germany, and England have used the name of Higher Criticism freely and in a manner which does not imply the least disparagement.

2. Problems of the Higher Criticism. Although the name of this higher branch of criticism is of comparatively recent origin, the problems it agitates are of old standing. These are the great questions of integrity, authenticity, literary form, and reliability, which *Literary* Criticism has dealt with for centuries, in reference to ordinary ancient writings, but which Christian scholars, owing chiefly to their deep reverence for the written Word of God, felt not at liberty to examine in connection with the sacred books of the Old and the New Testaments.[2] In the eyes of their faith, it was sufficient that a book of the Bible should apparently claim to have been written by Moses or Solomon, etc., for admitting at once this authorship and for taking as granted that the authorship extended to all the integrant parts of the book in question. On account of the same implicit belief in the Word of God, it never occurred to their minds that the reliability of the sacred records could be questioned, and consequently either they did not notice the variations in detail which are found in the Gospels for instance, or, if they noticed them, they were not at a loss to point out many different ways in which the several accounts could be harmonized. As long as they knew by the infallible teaching of the Church that all the books of the Bible were inspired, it imported little in their eyes to determine what was the special literary form of any one of them. Finally, they took it as a matter of course that a book should be considered as pure history whenever it wore the appearance of a historical record, as strict prophecy if it apparently referred to future events, etc.[1]

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[1] Jahn, An Introduction to the Old Testament, p. 167 (English Transl.). He speaks of "the books of the Old Testament," because his work bears only on this first part of the Bible.

[2] Of course, the common teaching of the schools about the authorship of the sacred books influenced Christian scholars in this connection; but this common teaching itself had been founded mostly on passages of Holy Writ, or at least on the titles inscribed to the inspired writings.

It is true, as we stated in our *Prolegomena* to the present work,[2] that, as early as the second part of the seventeenth century, the French Oratorian, Richard Simon (1638–1712) endeavored to call the attention of biblical scholars to these great questions of Literary Criticism in connection with the Bible, dealing himself with them in his masterly *Histoires Critiques du Vieux Testament, du Texte et des Versions du Nouveau Testament.* But plainly the time had not yet come for such scientific investigation of the problems which belong to Higher Criticism, and, in consequence, both his method and conclusions, strenuously opposed at first, were soon afterwards set aside. Only in the nineteenth century have Christian apologists fully realized the importance of dealing with the delicate problems involved in a critical study of the integrity, authenticity, literary form, and reliability of the sacred writings, and have seen their way to harmonize with their firm belief in the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, a manner of study hitherto applied only to merely human compositions.

3. Method and Principal Results of the Higher

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[1] Of course, we do not intend to deny that some of the problems now dealt with by the Higher Critics had been already examined scientifically by Origen, Eusebius and St. Jerome, but after these great Christian writers, the frame of mind above described was certainly prevalent.

[2] Cfr. *Prolegomena*, § 2, p. 18.

Criticism. In the treatment of these important and difficult problems, Higher Criticism uses principally, but not exclusively, internal evidence. It starts from the unquestionable principle that every literary production bears upon it the traces of the time and place of its composition, and reflects the peculiar frame of mind, style, and literary methods of its author. Whence it proceeds to a minute analysis of the book or part of book under consideration, to gather up its peculiarities of style, the leading views and feelings of its author, its references to past or present events, its geographical and chronological details, its religious, moral or political conceptions, its grammatical forms or lexical peculiarities, any traces of compilation, such as titles of pre-existing collections, duplicate accounts of the same event, etc., etc., in a word, all the data which will furnish a solid and extensive basis for comparison between the work under consideration and any other production studied in a like manner and ascribed to the same author or to the same period. Next comes the all-important work of comparison, which at times can be pursued without much technical knowledge, as for instance in the case of the book of Psalms, or of the book of Proverbs, but which at other times is so delicate as to require all the knowledge and skill of the expert.

Of course, in following this line of internal evidence, the higher critic is welcome to utilize whatever data or guidance he may derive from the labors of those who have gone before him. In fact, the unprejudiced scholar is only too glad to avail himself of the information given by external evidence whenever he can satisfy himself that the testimony as to the authorship of a book or part of a book goes back near enough to the time of its composition. Again, he does not simply take into account the positive testimony of tradition, but even goes as far as to examine carefully the silence of authors either contemporary or little posterior to the writer whose name is inscribed at the head of a sacred book.[1] In these, and in many other ways, he makes the most of all the data supplied by external evidence, and there is no doubt that when independent inquiries into the contents of a work have led him to conclusions concordant with those of tradition, oral or written, he has a perfect right to point to the latter as a powerful argument in favor of the validity of his method and of the accuracy of his inferences.

Through the constant and painstaking application of its theoretical principles and practical rules to the examination of the inspired writings, Higher Criticism has reached conclusions whose scientific value has been tested over and over again by scholars of different countries and of every shade of thought and belief,[2] and in consequence the critical views which underwent successfully this ordeal are generally considered as settled. To this first general result obtained by the Higher Criticism may be added another of much greater importance. We refer to the respectful attitude which, during the last part of the nineteenth century, has prevailed throughout the world with regard to the Bible and biblical topics. While in bygone days the questions relative to the authorship, reliability, etc., of Holy Writ were too often treated in an off-hand manner, in our day even the most declared enemies of Revelation feel bound to treat of them with that scientific care which alone can secure them a hearing. Again, in presence of this fair and scientific spirit of investigation, conservative scholars understood that, on the one hand, they could not refuse decently to meet their opponents on their own grounds, and that, on the other hand, the old arguments drawn almost exclusively from external evidence could be only of little use against positions which claimed to be based on a minute and thorough discussion of the data supplied by the sacred books themselves. Thus were they led to pay more attention to internal evidence and to take it into fuller account in its bearing on their own traditional views, whether—as it did at times—it proved serviceable for strengthening their positions, or—as happened at other times—it required that they should give them up or modify them to a considerable extent. At any rate, it was good for men of that school that they should be practically compelled to meet the real issues of the day on grounds accepted by all, and in a manner which proves conclusively that the books of the Bible need not to be dealt with in an exceptional way to vindicate their genuineness or their reliability. Finally, a last general result to be mentioned here of the application of the rules of *Literary* Criticism to our inspired writings consists in the fact that the historical circumstances of their origin and the literary methods followed in their composition are now realized with a distinctness and accuracy unknown to past ages, and really of the greatest use for their right interpretation.

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[1] For a detailed and careful statement of the manner in which the argument *ex silentio* should be handled, see Chas. A. BRIGGS, General Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture, pp. 101–108.

[2] In the following remarks we mention only the more important general results obtained by the Higher Criticism; its particular conclusions about the individual books or parts of books as regards genuineness, integrity, literary form and reliability will be stated and examined in forthcoming volumes on *Special* Introduction to the Old and to the New Testaments.

§ 3. *Biblical Textual Criticism.*

1. Its Starting Point. Instead of beginning with the contents of the sacred books with a view to ascertain the method of their composition, which is the starting-point and special purpose of the Higher Criticism, the second and lower branch of Biblical Criticism starts with the various readings which exist in the old manuscripts of the inspired writings as in those of all ancient works, and aims at restoring the sacred text to its genuine form. This department of Biblical Criticism is therefore justly called *Textual* Criticism, inasmuch as it deals all the time with the words whose collection and combination constitute the *text* of Holy Writ. Its work does not indeed rise as high as that which is carried on by the *Higher* Criticism, and on that account this branch is sometimes designated under the name of *Lower* Criticism; yet, in so far as it aims at supplying the interpreter with the original words of the Bible, and unquestionably succeeds in doing so in a large number of cases, it has a considerable importance in the study of the inspired books. In point of fact, *Textual* Criticism forms nowadays the subject-matter of an entire part of the General Introduction to the Sacred Scriptures.

2. Materials Available for Textual Criticism. As might naturally be expected, the line of evidence followed by Textual Criticism is conditioned to a large extent by the purpose it has in view. As it aims at deciding which of the various readings of a passage is the primitive one, it has to consult the sources which contain those textual variations, to weigh their relative authority, to eliminate readings which have less to recommend them, and finally to adopt those which are deemed original. It is plain therefore that Textual Criticism must appeal principally to external evidence, drawing its materials not so much from the contents of a book of Holy Writ as from copies of it or from other documents which may testify either for or against a particular reading.

There are three external sources from which Textual Criticism derives aid in ascertaining the changes which have been made in the original text of the Bible. The first consists in the *Manuscripts* or ancient copies of the sacred text, which are of the most direct, if not always of the greatest, help, inasmuch as they supply either the very words of the primitive reading or expressions closely allied to them, because belonging to the same language as the original. The second source of information comprises the Ancient *Versions* or translations of the Holy Scriptures, whose testimony is at times of much greater value than even that of the extant manuscripts, because though written in a different language from the primitive text, they may have been made from manuscripts older and better than those that have come down to us. The third external source from which materials may be drawn includes the *Quotations* of Holy Writ wherever found, whether in the other books of the Bible, or in the writings of the Fathers, or in the paraphrases or commentaries of interpreters. This is also a rich and valuable source of information, especially when the quotations are explicit, literal, made directly from the original text, or from a very ancient translation of it.

As may well be supposed, each of these great sources does not supply the same quantity or quality of materials for the pursuance of Textual Criticism: both the number and the value of the materials available vary with the different books, and in general those which are connected with the text of the New Testament are more numerous and reliable than those which bear on the Scriptures of the Old Testament.

But besides this external or *documentary* (as it is also called) evidence, Textual Criticism uses *internal* evidence as a subsidiary means to reach the primitive reading of the sacred text. This secondary source of information supplies more or less probable readings derived either from the immediate context, the peculiar manner of thought or expression of an author, which make it likely that he used this or that particular reading, or from the general methods of copyists,[1] the well-known habits of a special transcriber which make it likely that the present words point to this rather than to that primitive reading.

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[1] They are, well though briefly, described by BRIGGS, General Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture, p. 88, sq.

3. Principal Rules to Determine the Relative Value of the Various Readings. When the various readings regarding a passage of the Old or of the New Testament have been gathered, there remains for the biblical critic to determine, by the unbiased and skilful application of the usual canons of Textual Criticism, which is the primitive reading. The principal of these canons which are applicable to the criticism of the text of both Testaments[1] may be briefly stated as follows:

(1) Every element of evidence must be allowed its full weight of authority: this is a self-evident principle; yet it has sometimes been lost sight of by eminent critics;

(2) Great weight must be given to the testimony of independent witnesses; their agreement in favor of a reading plainly outweighs the concordant testimony given by witnesses of one and the same class, or coming from one locality, although these may be numerically superior;

(3) "The ancient reading is *generally* the reading of the more ancient manuscripts,"[2] and *cæteris paribus* is generally preferable;

(4) *Proclivi lectioni præstat ardua:* the more difficult reading is more likely to be correct, owing to the tendency of transcribers to alter the text from something which they do not understand into something which they do;

(5) *Brevior lectio præferenda verbosiori:* this rule rests on the well-known tendency of copyists to insert in the text marginal notes, glosses, etc., rather than to omit words already contained in the manuscript before them;

(6) The reading which lies at the root of all the variations

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[1] The special principles of Criticism for the Old Testament are given by S. DAVIDSON, A Treatise on Biblical Criticism, vol. i, p. 386, sq. (Boston, 1853).

[2] HAMMOND, Textual Criticism of the New Testament, p. 97.

and best accounts for them is to be preferred; it has clearly the best chance to be the original reading; at any rate, it is anterior to the others.[1]

4. Division of Textual Criticism. The questions of Textual Criticism which are usually examined in Treatises on General Introduction to the Study of the Bible, may conveniently be divided into those which bear directly on the Original Text and those which refer to its ancient translations. As these two sets of questions will be treated in the following pages on the same historical lines as those on which we pursued our study of the Canon of Holy Writ, this second part of our work will contain two great Divisions, called respectively: *The History of the Text*, and *The History of the Principal Versions of the Old and of the New Testament.*

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[1] The special canons of Criticism for the New Testament will be found in SCRIVENER, A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament, 4th edit., 1894, vol. ii, p. 244, sqq.; cfr. also, WESTCOTT and HORT, The New Testament in the Original Greek, vol. ii, Introduction, p. 19, sqq.

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER VIII.

HISTORY OF THE TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

Section I. Description of the Original Text.

I. LANGUAGE OF THE ORIGINAL TEXT:
- 1. Most of the books written in Hebrew (minor parts of some in Aramaic).
- 2. A few books composed in Greek.

II. THE HEBREW LANGUAGE:
- 1. Not the primitive language of humanity.
- 2. One of the Semitic languages (number and characteristics of the Semitic languages).
- 3. Historical sketch of the Hebrew as a living language.

III. THE HEBREW WRITING:
- 1st Period: Archaic Form (inscriptions of the Moabite stone and Siloam).
- 2d Period: Aramaic Form (its introduction by Esdras).
- 3d Period: The square character.

IV. THE HEBREW TEXT:
- 1. The roll (Volumen).
- 2. The Hebrew orthography.
- 3. The unpointed text.

FIRST DIVISION.

THE HISTORY OF THE TEXT OF THE BIBLE.

CHAPTER VIII.

HISTORY OF THE TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

SECTION I. DESCRIPTION OF THE ORIGINAL TEXT.

§ 1. *Language of the Original Text.*

1. **Most of the Books of the Old Testament Written in Hebrew.** Most of the canonical books of the Old Testament were originally written and have come down to us in a language which is called the *Hebrew*, because it was that of the *Hebrews*[1] or Israelites in the days of their national independence. This is the case with all the proto-canonical books composed before Our Lord's time, with the exception of Jeremias x, 11; Esdras iv, 8 vi, 18; vii, 12–26; Daniel ii, 4–vii, which are written in Aramaic.[2] The deutero-canonical book of Ecclesiasticus was also primitively composed in Hebrew[3] as is clearly proved by the Prologue to our Greek

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[1] Of the several explanations of the Gentilic עִבְרִי the derivation from עֵבֶר a country on the other side (of the Euphrates) with the derivative suffix יָ is the most probable (Gen. xiv, 13). Cfr. GESENIUS, Thesaurus Philologicus Criticus linguæ Hebraicæ (sub voc.); DE WETTE, Introduction to the Old Test., vol. i, Appendix D. (Engl. Transl. by Theodore Parker); Jas. HASTINGS, Bible Dictionary, vol. ii, art. Hebrew, p. 325, sq.

[2] These minor parts were formerly, but incorrectly, said to be written in *Chaldee*.

[3] Cfr the valuable edition of the newly discovered Hebrew fragments of Ecclesiasticus by COWLEY, NEUBAUER, and DRIVER (Oxford), and the textual study of these fragments by Abbé J. TOUZARD, in La Revue Biblique Internationale (Oct., 1897; Jan., 1898).

translation of Ecclesiasticus. Even most of the other deutero-canonical writings of the Old Testament, viz., Tobias, Judith, Baruch, and the first book of the Machabees, and the deutero-canonical parts of Daniel and Esther, were very likely written in Hebrew, although they are no longer extant in that language. Hence it may be truly said that the language of the original text of the Old Testament is the Hebrew.

2. A Few Books Composed in Greek. There are two books, however, whose primitive language was certainly not the Hebrew but the *Greek:* these are the deutero-canonical books of Wisdom and second of Machabees. They, of course, belong to the Canon of the Old Testament just as well as any other books contained therein; yet, on account of their late date of composition, and especially because of the literary kind of Greek in which they are written, and which has so much resemblance with the Greek of the New Testament, the treatment of their original language may better be taken up in connection with the questions which gather around the language of the New Testament writings. This applies also naturally to the other deutero-canonical books or parts of books which we now possess only in a Greek translation, and in consequence we shall speak only here of the Hebrew as the original language of the Old Testament.[1]

§ 2. *The Hebrew Language.*

1. Hebrew not the Primitive Language of Humanity. It would be sheer waste of time at the present day, to repeat and refute the arguments set forth formerly to prove that the Hebrew language as known to us in the sacred writings of the Old Testament, is the original language of mankind. Any one ever so little acquainted with the earliest forms of biblical Hebrew, and with the most elementary laws of linguistic growth, knows it for a fact that the oldest Hebrew contained in the Bible bears upon its face the unmistakable traces of a long previous development. Not only had human language long ceased to be made up exclusively of monosyllabic roots, but it had already gone through the stage of connecting monosyllables with each other under a common accent, and had reached the last stage of linguistic development in which polysyllabic roots appear modified through internal inflection.[1] Again, it seems very probable that a whole family (the Aryan) of languages cannot be derived from the Hebrew idiom, or even from the whole family of languages to which the Hebrew belongs. Hence we should infer—unless indeed we reject the primitive unity of mankind and of human language—that the common origin of these great families of languages is to be traced back to an older language than the Hebrew in its most elementary form.[2] Finally, philology has proved that the Hebrew is not the most ancient even relatively to the other languages of the Semitic family to which it belongs. It is no wonder, therefore, that the old preconceived notions about the sacred language of the Old Testament as the primitive tongue of humanity are now universally given up.

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[1] The Aramaic portions of the proto-canonical books are too small to require a special treatment, and besides, the leading features of the Aramaic and its influence upon the Hebrew will be sufficiently mentioned in connection with various topics soon to be dealt with.

2. Hebrew one of the Semitic Languages. The Hebrew language belongs to a great family of languages in Western Asia, designated under the name of *Semitic*, because spoken originally by all the descendants of Sem.[1] The better known of these languages may be divided into four groups, as follows: (1) The *Southern* or *Arabic* group, made up of the classical literary language of the Arabs (such as found in the Koran), and of the modern vulgar Arabic, together with the old southern Arabic preserved only in the Sabean or Himyaric inscriptions of the peninsula of Arabia, and its offshoots, the Ethiopic or Ge'ez in Abyssinia; (2) the *Eastern* or *Assyrian* group, which comprises the Babylonian and Assyrian, the ancient languages of the valley of the Euphrates and the Tigris, whose knowledge is of invaluable help to biblical scholars; (3) the *Western* or *Chanaanite* group, to which belongs the biblical Hebrew in its various forms and with its various descendants (the New Hebrew in the Mishnah, and the Rabbinic); also the Phœnician, together with the Punic (in Carthage and its colonies) and the various remains of the Chanaanite dialects; (4) the *Northern* or *Aramaic* group, subdivided into the Eastern Aramaic or Syriac and the Western or Palestinian branches, both of which are of great importance. To the latter belong the Aramaic portions of the Old Testament, the Samaritan and a considerable part of the later Jewish literature; to the former, several ancient versions of the Old and New Testaments, a large number of early apocryphal or pseudepigraphic writings, and a very extensive Christian literature of a later date.[2]

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[1] For details concerning the three stages of *isolation*, *agglutination* and *inflection*, here referred to, cfr. Hovelacque, The Science of Language, chaps. iii–v; Loisy, Histoire Critique du Texte et des Versions de la Bible, p. 13, sqq. (Enseignement Biblique, Jan.–Feb., 1892).

[2] Cfr. Loisy, ibid, p. 16, 25. See, also, Gesenius, Hebrew Grammar (Kautzsh, 26th edit.), English transl. by Collins and Cowley, p. 4, sqq.

All these languages in their several degrees are of special use in understanding the original text of the Old Testament, for the simple reason that differently from the Indo-

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[1] Cfr. Gen. x, 21, sqq.

[2] Cfr. Loisy, ibid. p 25, sqq; W. Wright, Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages, chap. ii; Briggs, General Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture, p. 45 sqq. and the literature he refers to in footnotes. The Arabic and Syriac are still living languages.

Germanic or Aryan languages,[1] they exhibit the same general features as the Hebrew of the Bible. The principal characteristics of the Semitic family in its present form refer to both vocabulary and grammatical structure.

As regards *vocabulary*, we may notice: (1) the dissyllabic nature of the roots usually made up of three consonants, the accompanying vowels having no radical value; (2) the substantial identity of the triliteral roots, subject, however, to certain consonantal permutations; (3) the almost complete absence of compounds both in the noun (except in proper names) and in the verb; (4) the fact that almost all words are derived from their roots in definite patterns as regular as those of grammatical inflection; (5) the concrete, and, as it were, material character of the roots in their origin and usually also in their development, which makes the expression of intellectual ideas necessarily metaphorical.

As regards *grammatical structure*, the Semitic family is also distinguished from the Indo-Germanic languages by features common to its various members. We may notice in particular (1) peculiar gutturals of different grades among the consonants; (2) the expression of the different shades of thought through internal inflection, that is, through the doubling of the radical consonants or the change of vowels proceeding from the three primary sounds, *a*, *i*, *u*; (3) the fact that the noun has only two genders (masc. and fem.), and the verb (developed from nominal forms) no real tenses, but two tense-forms, the perfect and the imperfect, which are used according as the speaker contemplates the action expressed by the verb either as complete or as still in process; (4) the use of appended suffixes to denote the possessive pronouns with a substantive, or the accusative of a personal pronoun with a verb; (5) the expression of the genitive relation by what is called construction or annexation; (6) the small number of particles, and the extreme simplicity with which propositions are subordinated and which deprives the Semitic style of lengthened periods, reducing it to a series of short clauses united by the simple conjunction *and*.[1]

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[1] This family of languages bounds the Semitic groups on the East and North. It reaches from India to the limits of Western Europe, and includes the Sanscrit, Old and New Persian, Greek, Latin, Slavonic, Gothic, and the other German languages.

Such are the principal characteristics of the Semitic languages which, whilst differentiating them from any other great family of languages, unite them to one another as closely as those of a sub-group (the Teutonic,[2] for instance) of the Indo-German family are united among themselves.

3. Historical Sketch of the Hebrew as a Living Language. As might well be supposed from the many essential features which are common to the members of the Semitic family, the languages of which it is made up may be traced back to a common centre, which is most likely the region to the northeast of Arabia, near the Persian gulf and toward the old mouth of the Tigris and the Euphrates. It is from this wide district that, according to ancient traditions referred to by Herodotus (Book i, chap. i), the Chanaanites had come to settle on the Mediterranean shores. It is also from that region, from "Ur of the Chaldees," that later on Abraham is represented in the book of Genesis (xi, 31) as starting northward for Mesopotamia, and thence southwestward for the land of Chanaan. Whether this great ancestor of the Hebrew nation brought along with him from beyond the Euphrates the Hebrew idiom, or borrowed it from the Chanaanites after his arrival in their country has been much discussed. It would be too long to detail here the grounds which make the former view very probable,[1] and besides, whatever opinion be adopted, it remains true that the historical origin of the Hebrew language, as far as it can now be reached, goes back to the early movements of the Semitic tribes.

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[1] Cfr. W. R. Smith, art. Hebrew Language and Literature in Encyclopædia Britannica (9th edit.); see, also, Gesenius-Kautzsh, Hebrew Grammar, 26th edit., English translation by Collins and Cowley, p. 3, sq. It should be noted, however, that classical Arabic is an important exception as regards the absence of periodic structure in Semitic languages.

[2] The Teutonic sub-group includes the Gothic, Old Norse, High and Low German (see Hovelacque, The Science of Language, pp. 252–268).

As regards the historical developments of literary Hebrew, it must be confessed that we do not possess sufficient data to describe them with anything like detail and accuracy: the documents are few, their date is often not fully ascertained, the vocalic element whence dialects arise usually is not written, the vocabulary and syntax depend to a large extent on the manner of individual writers whatever their century, and again, authors belonging to a period when the language is in decadence or has already ceased to be spoken, may copy successfully the style of the golden age. For these and other similar reasons, it is now impossible to do more than to give an imperfect sketch of the historical developments of the Hebrew language.

It would seem that during the most remote period of Hebrew literary composition, the written differed but little from the spoken language. This is the general conclusion to which point the oldest songs[2] imbedded in our Pentateuch and in the book of Judges, and extracted mostly from an ancient book entitled *The Book of the Wars of Yahweh.*[3] Composed near the events which they celebrate, these poetical pieces are marked by that terseness and vigor of expression, by that vividness, not to say rudeness, of imagery and conception which bespeak the popular language of the time, and which, much more than either vocabulary or syntax, characterize the primitive period of Hebrew literature. In point of fact, the vocabulary and syntax of these popular songs are well nigh identical with those of writings belonging to a later date. This is also the conclusion suggested by the literary characteristics of the oldest historical parts of the Pentateuch, Judges, and Samuel, wherein may still be found, of course in due proportion, the same concision of expression, the same vigor and simplicity of grammatical structure, together with the same lexical and syntactical features.[1]

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[1] For these grounds see Loisy, Hist. du Texte et des Versions de la Bible, p. 35; W. R. Smith, art. Hebrew language and literature in Encyclopædia Britannica (9th edit.); Briggs, Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture, p. 52.

[2] The Semitic proper names of men and towns found in the Egyptian inscriptions of Thothmes III, or in the Tell-el-Amarna tablets, prove only that long centuries before what has been considered as the golden age of the Hebrew, viz., the time of David and Solomon, that language had been already fixed in its essential features.

[3] This is the correct pronunciation of the personal name of the God of Israel; we shall henceforth use it instead of the conventional form "Jehovah."

Gradually, however, Hebrew literature divests itself of this popular garb, and certain Psalms, the book of Job (except the speeches of Eliu), some sections in the book of Proverbs, Amos, Joel, Osee, Isaias and Micheas, whilst exhibiting pretty much the same characteristics as older writings, are composed in a more literary Hebrew; the art of composition is more apparent, and the style, though nervous and simple, is more easy and harmonious.

The distinction between the language of the people and that of literature is especially manifest at the end of the seventh century B.C. In their popular addresses, the prophets Jeremias and Sophonias speak the language of the multitude, that is, a language which had lost much of its ancient concision and vigor, and even Ezechiel, who is more of a writer than of a public speaker, employs new words and constructions which betray the influence of the Aramaic upon the idiom of the people. This decay of the popular tongue is all the more noticeable because writers contemporary with Jeremias, such as Nahum and Habacuc, and post-exilic writers such as certain Psalmists and authors of Proverbs, possess a style which in many ways resembles that of the eighth century. It seems clear, however, that this comparative perfection of writers so late in date is due to efforts to imitate the best style of bygone days, for in point of fact, most writings posterior to the Babylonian captivity betray the great influence exercised upon them by the popular idiom which gradually melts away into the Aramaic.[1]

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[1] In the foregoing remarks we do not refer to the *legal* portions of the Pentateuch, because the technical language of law is everywhere and at every period naturally archaic in its stereotyped formulas. Nor do we allude to the period of Israel's sojourn in Egypt, because the Hebrew language seems to have been but little influenced by the Egyptian beyond the adoption of a few Egyptian terms.

This transformation of the Hebrew into the Aramaic was slowly, insensibly effected amid the peculiar circumstances brought about by the Babylonian captivity. The poor and scanty Jewish element left in Palestine during the captivity, spoke, it is true, Aramaic, or at least a very corrupted form of Hebrew at the time of the return, but it was not probably so with the bulk of those who came back from Babylon. Allowed to live in compact groups in their land of exile, knowing that their captivity would soon come to an end, deeply attached to the country and traditions of their ancestors, the exiled Jews who, after the short period of the captivity, chose to return to Palestine, had most likely preserved, together with their faith, the language of their nation. It is therefore very probable that the oracles of Aggeus, Zachary and Malachy were delivered from the first in the Hebrew in which they have come down to us. Nehemias made supreme but vain efforts to bring about a reaction among the Jews against their total adoption of the Aramaic.[2] Hebrew soon ceased to be the popular idiom, and simply survived as a literary language greatly influenced by, sometimes mixed with, the spoken language of the time, as may be seen, for instance, in the books of Daniel and Esdras.[1]

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[1] This is the case not only with Daniel and Esdras, but also with Ecclesiastes, Chronicles, Esther, etc. Of course, the approximate date of these various writings will be carefully examined in our *Special* Introduction to the Old Testament.

[2] Nehemias, xiii., 24, sq.

§ 3. *The Hebrew Writing.*

1. First Period: The Archaic Form. As the Hebrew language belongs to the Semitic family, so does its writing belong to the Semitic alphabets. In its oldest form it was unquestionably the common Semitic character evolved from an old Hieratic Egyptian script, and used alike, in ancient times, by the Moabites, Hebrews, Aramæans and Phœnicians. The oldest monuments of this alphabet—usually designated under the name of the Phœnician alphabet—are the great inscription of Mesa, King of Moab, discovered in 1868, and two fragments of bronze vessels obtained from Cyprus in 1876 and inscribed with dedications to Baal Lebanon. Both go back to the ninth century B.C.[2] and exhibit those characters which till 1880 were supposed to have been in use by the Israelites in writing Hebrew at a very early date. This supposition was positively confirmed by the accidental discovery in Jerusalem, in 1880, of the famous Siloam inscription engraved in a recess of a tunnel under the ridge of Ophel and bringing water to the pool of Siloam. This Hebrew inscription records in six lines the construction of the tunnel; and its writing, though later in date than that of the Moabite stone—it belongs probably to the time of Ezechias[3] (727–698 B.C.)—is clearly of the same type.

The special interest which attaches to this old character of the Hebrew writing, is derived from the fact that it must have been used for the composition of most of the prophetical books of the Bible. Its archaic form was employed at a much later period on the coins of the Machabees, and has remained the sacred script of the few Samaritan families still surviving at Nablus.

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[1] Cfr. LOISY, Histoire du Texte et des Versions de la Bible, pp. 37–56; GESENIUS-KAUTZSH, Hebrew Grammar (transl. by Collins and Cowley), pp. 8–17, and authors therein referred to.

[2] Some suppose, however, that the Cypriote inscription is the older of the two by fully a century.

[3] Cfr. IV Kings xx, 20 and II Paralip. xxxii, 30, which refer to an aqueduct constructed by him at the end of the eighth century B.C.

2. Second Period: The Aramaic Form of Writing. The earliest type of Semitic writing thus far described gradually passed into another more easily traced, which is sometimes called *Sidonian*, from its chief representatives, the great inscriptions engraved on the sarcophagi of the kings of Sidon, Tabnith and his son Eshmunazar II. Under the more usual name of the Aramæan, it is now considered, and justly, as a slow and popular transition from the old and stiffer form of the Semitic letters, some remaining unchanged whilst others were gradually being transformed into a more *cursive* style, due chiefly to the free use of the reed pen and papyrus. The development of this new type of writing was certainly going on as early as the seventh century B.C., and its continuity may now be traced from the fifth to the first century before the Christian era, through the newly found coins struck by the Persian satraps of Asia Minor, and then by means of much later mortuary inscriptions and Egyptian papyri.[1] About the middle of the fourth century it had become the common Semitic script, and had been for a long time already used by the Hebrews in their commercial transactions with the Sidonians and Aramæans.

As regards the adoption of the Aramaic by the Israelites in the transcription of the Holy Scriptures, nothing can be clearly defined. It seems, however, very likely that the introduction of a new type of writing in copying the sacred books was very slow, and that it was not employed in transcribing the Pentateuch before the definitive organization of the Samaritan community. A Jewish tradition embodied in the Talmud points to Esdras as the originator of this very important change, and its testimony is probably correct in the main.[1] The script which "this ready scribe in the law of Moses" brought with him from Babylon, may have been considerably different from that which had been used so far in Palestine, and his authority would make it acceptable to his fellow-Jews. Thus can we account for the fact that, while the chosen people of God changed their style of writing their most sacred books, the schismatic Samaritans preserved the text of the law in the older character. With reference to the other holy writings distinct from the law, it can be surmised that they were not exclusively copied in the Aramaic form before they had been fully canonized in the Jewish Church.

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[1] Cfr. for details or fac-similes, DRIVER, Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel, Introduction, p. xi, sqq.; HASTINGS, Bible Dictionary, vol. i, p. 73, sq.; VIGOUROUX, Dictionnaire de la Bible, art. Ecriture Hebraique, col. 1580, sq.

3. Third Period: The Square Character. The various changes through which the archaic form was transformed into the Aramaic character had a twofold result: they made writing easier and quicker, they made it also, and for this very reason, less legible. It was therefore natural that when this newer type of writing was adopted officially and permanently for the transcription of Holy Writ, a reaction should take place against anything connected with its use which would betray irreverence for the Word of God. Hence, through greater care in writing, through a religious wish to obtain as beautiful a script as possible for the sacred text a new and finer form of the Aramaic was gradually evolved, which, from its general character, is called the *square* or distinctly Hebrew type of writing. Calligraphic reasons probably led to the adoption of the *square* character for the various inscriptions of the environs of Jerusalem and of Galilee which have been recently discovered, and which belong at the latest to the first century before the Christian era.[1] It was in this character that the Hebrew manuscripts of Our Lord's time were written, and ever since, whether in MSS. or in printed editions, the square form has been the obligatory Hebrew style of letters for the transmission of the sacred text.

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[1] In the Talmud we read: "Originally the law was given to Israel in the *Hebrew* character and in the sacred tongue; it was given again to them, in the days of Esdras, in the *Assyrian* writing and in the Aramaic tongue. Israel chose for themselves the *Assyrian* character and the sacred tongue, and left to the ἰδιῶται (the Samaritans) the Hebrew character and the Aramaic tongue" (Treatise *Sanhedrim*, 21 *b*, quoted by DRIVER, loc. cit., p. ix). This tradition is certainly correct as to the fact of a change of script; the word *Assyrian* is possibly used loosely for *Babylonian*, or *Syrian* (Aramaic).

§ 4. *The Hebrew Text.*

1. The Roll (*Volumen*). Throughout these various changes in their writing, the Israelites preserved (as far as can be ascertained) for their books the one and same form of the *Roll*. As these books were made of flexible materials, viz., papyrus and skins of animals, it was found convenient to have their various sheets, after they had been fastened together at the edges, attached to and wound around one stick or cylinder into a roll or volume, and if the books were very long, they were rolled around two cylinders, from the two extremities. The leaves were usually written over only on one side,[2] and the text was divided into small columns with margins at the top and at the bottom and a certain space (probably a two-fingers' breadth) between every two columns.[3] When the manuscript was used the reader unrolled it until he found the place, or if the manuscript was wound around two sticks, he unrolled from the one and rolled up around the other as he progressed, and when he had finished, he rolled it up again.

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[1] See fac-similes of these inscriptions in VIGOUROUX, Dictionnaire de la Bible, col. 1583; see, also, LOISY, loc. cit., p. 86, sqq.

[2] The known exceptions are referred to in Ezech. ii, 10, sq.; Zach. v, 1, sqq.

[3] Cfr. SMITH, Bible Dictionary, art. Writing (p. 3575 of the Amer. edit.).

It is highly probable that in ancient times each sacred book was written upon a separate roll, "the Law," or first Canon, being written eventually on five, corresponding with our five books, or Pentateuch of Moses. The second layer of the Canon, or "the Prophets," was written on eight rolls; the twelve minor Prophets were, it is true, copied sometimes on separate rolls, as may be inferred from the differences of arrangement in the earliest Hebrew and Greek manuscripts, but usually they were transcribed on the same roll after their number was definitely fixed in the Canon of Holy Writ. The third layer of the Canon of the Old Testament, "the Hagiographa," was for a long time as indefinite in the number of rolls as in the number of writings which were believed to constitute it.[1]

The obligatory, because truly traditional, form of Hebrew manuscripts for public use in the synagogues, is still that of *Rolls*, but copies for private reading were written in ordinary book form, when that shape came into general use.

2. The Hebrew Orthography. It must be admitted that while the Roll-form of the sacred text has remained invariably the same, Hebrew orthography has undergone a few important changes. The first of these changes is connected with the division of words in our modern Hebrew manuscripts. It is true, indeed, that in the inscription of Mesa, and in the Siloam inscription, the words are separated by a point, but it is probable that this division was not then generally indicated in a more *cursive* style of writing, and that, as regards the text of the sacred books of the Old Testament, the separation was first introduced and marked (either by points or by spaces) for guiding the reader in the public services. In point of fact, many a time the division of words in our modern Hebrew manuscripts is defective, and the Septuagint Version frequently presupposes a different division from that which has come down to us. This clearly proves that " if the separations between words were marked in the autographs of the Old Testament, some irregularity and neglect must have been shown in the observance of them." [1]

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[1] BRIGGS, Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scripture, p. 170.

A second, much more important and much better ascertained change in the Hebrew orthography, refers to what is called the *Scriptio plena*. This *Scriptio plena* consists in the insertion into the radical letters of a word, of feeble consonants which could help the reader in understanding or pronouncing the word correctly. In ancient times, as may be inferred from the inscriptions of Mesa and of Siloam, this insertion was very rare in Semitic and Hebrew writing, "It is probable that these consonants were used at first chiefly at the *end* of words, e.g., to mark pronominal suffixes and inflectional terminations, which were important for the sense," [2] and it is certain that their common use to mark long vowels in general, belongs to a late stage in Hebrew orthography.[3]

The last change we shall mention here is connected with the suffix of the third person singular masculine, whose original form was gradually transformed and shortened as to its spelling. As a result of the non-recognition of this orthographic change, errors of transcription crept into our Hebrew MSS., and mistakes of rendering were made in the versions.[4]

3. The Unpointed Text.

Intimately connected with

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[1] DRIVER, Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel, Introduction, p. xxx.

[2] A. B. DAVIDSON, An Introductory Hebrew Grammar, 11th ed., p. 5, footn. 1.

[3] Cfr. DRIVER, Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel, Introd., pp. xxxii–xxxiv.

[4] For details, cfr. DRIVER, ibid.

these orthographic changes, though much later in date, is the introduction into the Hebrew Text of signs different from the letters of the alphabet, and destined to secure the correct reading of the original. It would be a waste of time at the present day to adduce arguments to prove that these vowel signs, or Massoretic points as they are called, did not belong to the primitive text. Suffice it to say, that all ancient Semitic writing (Moabitic, Aramaic, Phœnician, Hebrew) which has come down to us in its original form, is *unpointed*, that is, exhibits consonants without these marks, or points. Further, it is an unquestionable fact that neither the Talmud nor St. Jerome knew of aught as belonging to the Hebrew Text, except the consonants. Down to the present day the manuscripts used for public services in the synagogues are unpointed.

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER IX.

History of the Text of the Old Testament.

Section II. Transmission of the Original Text.

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First Period:
(to 140 A.D.).

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2. Evidences of freedom in transcription and redaction.
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IV.
Appendix:

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CHAPTER IX.

HISTORY OF THE TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

SECTION II. TRANSMISSION OF THE ORIGINAL TEXT.

§ 1. *First Period (to* 140 A. D.*).*

1. Obscurity of this Long Period. Of the various periods into which the history of the text of the Old Testament may be divided, none is more important than that which extends from the first appearance of the individual books to about the middle of the second century after Christ, for it was during this long series of centuries that the sacred text grew gradually and became settled for all subsequent ages. It would therefore be very desirable that we should be able to ascertain by means of many and reliable documents, the competency and methods of those who in the course of this first period contributed to make what is still practically our standard original text of the Old Testament. In reality, there is hardly a period in the whole history of the transmission of the Hebrew Bible which supplies fewer sources of information to students of Biblical Criticism.

In the first place, there is no extant Hebrew MSS. going back to anything like that remote period; nor is there any reading in our oldest copies that we could refer with certainty to this early age, on the ground that it accounts for all the textual variations as they now lie before us.[1] Again, if we except the Samaritan Pentateuch, which of course gives us information bearing only on the text of the books of Moses, we possess no direct and reliable testimony regarding the textual condition of the writings of the Hebrew Bible before the time of the Septuagint. If we add to these two oldest sources of information the ancient Syriac Version, and the citations found in writings of the first century of our era, we shall have enumerated all the documents belonging to that period which can help us in realizing something of the manner in which the sacred text was transmitted down to the middle of the second century after Christ. Furthermore, we should bear in mind that, in connection with the Septuagint Version, that is, with our most valuable source of information, it is impossible in a large number of cases to determine accurately the Hebrew reading which the Greek translators had before their eyes.

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[1] Cfr. Frants BUHL, Canon and Text of the Old Testament, p. 79 (Engl. Transl.).

2. Evidences of Freedom in Transcription and Redaction. But however great and permanent the causes of the obscurity which surrounds this first period, they have not prevented modern scholars from obtaining a general knowledge of the manner in which the scribes of these remoter ages dealt with the sacred text. Our Hebrew MSS. are all recent, it is true, but their text, as we shall see very soon, is practically identical with that which existed at the beginning of the second century of our era, and consequently its defective readings may go back to a period anterior to that date. In point of fact, a careful comparison between our Hebrew Text and the Septuagint alone, or the Septuagint and the Samaritan Pentateuch for the first five books of the Bible, proves abundantly that textual defects by omission, addition, substitution, transposition, etc., of words or passages, are as old in the Hebrew as these most ancient external sources of information. Now when these various defects are closely examined, they appear to be referable either to haste in transcription, or to intentional alteration, and consequently give us an insight into the manner in which the scribes of the centuries before Christ performed their work of transcription. In general, it may be said that the extreme care and scrupulous accuracy with which the Hebrew Text was formerly supposed to have been copied before the second century of our era, are clearly disproved by an unprejudiced study of the data supplied by external and internal evidence concerning this first period in the transmission of the Hebrew Bible.[1]

In like manner, the charges directed by early Christian apologists, such as St. Justin, St. Irenæus, etc., against the Jews for having corrupted the Old Testament Scriptures out of hatred to the Christian faith are really groundless. The changes introduced into the sacred text which are of any importance go back to a time before the Christian era; and the charges against the Jews were most likely prompted by an over estimation of the Septuagint Version in passages where it differed from the Hebrew, or perhaps even by a wish to meet with a ready answer the accusations of inaccuracy in rendering, which Jewish controversialists brought forth against that old Greek translation.

This is not, however, all the information which a careful study of both external and internal sources of evidence has brought to light about the Hebrew Text during this first period of its transmission. Even when all allowance has been made for errors, interpolations and deliberate alterations in the Septuagint Version in particular, there remains as an unquestionable conclusion that many, and these the most important variations, are not simply the result of ancient freedom in transcription. Not only in the historical books of Kings, but in the prophetical writings of Jeremias, Ezechiel and Daniel, and in the poetical books of Job and Proverbs, the additions, omissions, and transpositions are so extensive that most biblical scholars do not hesitate to admit that the Greek translators made use of a Hebrew Text very different from the one which we have at present and which goes back at least to the second century of our era.[1] Nay, more, these greater variations combined with minor differences of a similar kind that are observable throughout the Hebrew Bible when compared with the Septuagint, have led critics to the conclusion that in the second century before the coming of Christ, the Hebrew Text existed in a variety of forms, one of which is represented by the Septuagint, and another by the manuscripts from which our present Hebrew Text is derived.

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[1] For details, see T. K. ABBOTT, Essays Chiefly on the Original Texts of the Old and New Testaments; cfr., also, in the American Ecclesiastical Review (Feb., 1896), an article on The Hebrew Bible, by the present writer.

3. Date and Method of fixing the Hebrew Text.

Of course it is not easy at the present day to determine the precise date at which this freedom in transcription and redaction of the ancient scribes was done away with. It is beyond question, however, that it disappeared some time before the close of the first period we have distinguished in the history of the transmission of the sacred text. Three

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[1] Most of these differences will be pointed out later, especially in the chapter on the old Greek translations. For the sake of example, however, we mention here the following textual variations found in the Septuagint and connected with the books of Kings:

1. *Additions:* 19 lines after the first verse of chap. iii in III Kings; verse 46 in the same chapter (in the LXX) has been increased by an addition of 19 lines also; and in chap. xii so much has been added to verse 24, that in the Septuagint it has no less than 68 lines instead of the 2 or 3 it should naturally have, if it were a simple translation of our Hebrew Text, etc., etc.;

2. *Omissions:* In the narrative of David and Goliath (I Kings, xvii) verses 12–31, 41, 50, 55–58 are omitted; in III Kings, ix, verses 15–25 of the Hebrew are likewise omitted; and in chap. xiv of the same book, the first 20 verses are not to be found, etc.

3. *Transpositions:* in III Kings, the first 12 verses of chap. vii are placed after verse 51 of the same chapter; chap. xxi occurs before chap. xx; etc., etc.

Greek versions were made in the second century of our era; one by the Jewish proselyte Aquila, early in that century; another by Theodotion, and a third by Symmachus a little later. Now if we are to judge of the condition of the text at the time through the considerable fragments of these translations which have come down to us, it is plain that it was then for all practical purposes identical with our present Hebrew Text. This is confirmed by the fact that our Hebrew Bible is the same as that which Origen († 254 A.D.) used for his gigantic work of the *Hexapla*, and which is found at the basis of the Targums or translations into the vernacular Aramaic which took shape about the third century after Christ.

But while we know for certain the approximate date when a uniform text came into general use, it must be confessed that, owing chiefly to our present lack of reliable documents and to our ignorance of a more exact date for the official determination of the text, we can reach only probable conclusions as regards the manner in which the Hebrew standard was obtained. These probable conclusions may be stated briefly as follows:

First, some manner of criticism seems to have been applied in the fixing of an authoritative text. This we may infer with a fair amount of probability from the Jewish tradition recorded in the Talmud which bears distinct witness to eighteen *corrections* made by the scribes of old, to five *removals* of the conjunction ו (and), and tells us that three copies of the sacred writings were used by these critics in such a manner as to exclude every reading opposed by the majority of two MSS. Secondly, the amount of liberty taken with the current text by the scribes was very limited, for the standard they adopted bears frequent and manifest traces of a method which has little in common with the application of the most elementary rights of Textual Criticism.

Thus the most glaring mistakes of the text were allowed to stay, the unusual size of certain letters was preserved, the divergences in reading or representation found in the passages repeated, were left unharmonized, etc. All this points indeed to their great reverence for the Word of God; it points also to the fact that they desired much less to produce a critical edition of Holy Writ, than to give a scrupulously faithful transcript of a text already in existence. Thirdly, it is probable that the uniformity of the text which prevailed in the second century of our era and henceforward, could be best secured by the Jewish scribes by the simple adoption of a MS. as the standard text. At the time of the fixing of the Hebrew Text, the Jews had long been accustomed to look with the greatest veneration upon the minutest details of their law,[1] and upon the traditions of the elders, so that the most natural means to spread among them a text whose authority would easily be recognized, consisted in reproducing with perfect accuracy a copy which would commend itself by its antiquity and perhaps also by its connection with the Temple services in Jerusalem.

Finally, the scribes who fixed the Hebrew Text, not only gave the example of faithfully reproducing the copy before them, they most likely also framed rules calculated to prevent future deviations from their authentic edition.[2]

§ 2. *Second Period* (*to the Eleventh Century*).

1. Rise and Growth of the Massorah. With the fixing of the Hebrew standard a new period opens in the history of the transmission of the sacred text. The tendency to modify its readings, already so limited in the past, vanishes now forever, and the critical efforts of the Jewish scribes are henceforth directed towards one thing, viz., the maintenance of the received text in its perfect integrity. Of course this was no absolutely new method of dealing with the sacred text, especially with that of the Mosaic law. During the last stage of the preceding period, under the influence of the celebrated Rabbi Aqiba,[1] to whom is ascribed the saying, "Tradition (Massorah) is a fence to the law," minute rules had been laid down not only for the interpretation, but probably also for the transcription, of the sacred books, and particularly of those of the great lawgiver of Israel. It is chiefly, however, in the following period, from the second to the eleventh century of our era, that these rules were gradually developed, codified, written down, and fully utilized in the transcription of the Hebrew Bible. This entire period might therefore be justly called *Massoretic*, because it witnessed the steady growth and application of that *Tradition* (*Massorah*),[2] whose distinct object aimed at and whose actual enforcement resulted in the well-nigh perfect transmission of a text of the second century after Christ. It is customary, however, to apply the name of *Massoretic* only to the second part of this long period (from the sixth to the eleventh century), and to call its first part the age of the *Talmud*.

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[1] Cfr. Matt. v, 18; Luke xvi, 17.

[2] For details, cfr. LOISY, Histoire du Texte et des Versions de la Bible, pp. 132-146; W. R. SMITH, The Old Testament in the Jewish Church, Lecture iii; S. DAVIDSON, A Treatise on Biblical Criticism, vol. i, p. 116, sqq. (Boston, 1853).

2. The Talmudists and their Textual Criticism. As might naturally be expected, the learned rabbis who lived at the beginning of this second period continued to work on the same lines as their immediate predecessors. Their chief concern was to deduce laws from the words of

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[1] R. Aqiba flourished about A. D. 110–135. For details concerning him, see SCHÜRER, The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ, Divis. ii, vol. i, p. 375, sq. (Engl. Transl.); and MIELZINER, Introduction to the Talmud, p. 29, sq.; p. 125, sq.

[2] The word *Massorah* is most likely to be derived from מָסַר, *to deliver*, *to transmit* (cfr. LOISY, loc. cit., p. 146, footn. 1).

Holy Writ or to test by the same means laws already in existence, but generally as yet unwritten. They worked also at perfecting the attempts made by their predecessors for codifying these various laws, and their labors resulted—at what precise date we cannot say—in producing that part of the Talmud which is now called the *Mishnah* or *Second* Law of the Jewish people.[1] This Mishnah or traditional law, once written, served in turn as a text which was expounded by the rabbis of the following generations, and it is the collection of their commentaries or discussions on the Mishnah which forms the second part of the Talmud, under the name of the *Gemara*. This name is probably identical with the term *Talmud*, which means the *teaching* or *study* of the traditional law, and hence it appears interchangeable with it in the expressions, the *Babylonian Talmud*, the *Palestinian Talmud*, used to designate the two distinct compilations of the Gemara in the Jewish schools of Babylonia and Palestine, respectively.[2] However this may be, the Talmud is a huge legal work, made up of the Mishnah as the text, and of the Gemara as its discursive commentary; and its authors, the Talmudists, are those rabbis whose business it was to codify, write down, expound and develop the uncanonical law of their nation.

Of course it is impossible at the present day to describe accurately the method and extent of criticism which the Talmudists carried out in regard to the Holy Scriptures, for their work, as stated above, was begun by scribes in the period before them, and finished long afterwards in the days of the Massoretes. The following points, however, are generally agreed upon among biblical scholars. The Talmudists "did not attempt anything like a regular revision of the sacred text. They marked certain readings which seemed to them doubtful. If they met with a clear mistake they corrected it in the margin, but seldom or never meddled with the text. They gave minute directions about copying of manuscripts and cautions about such errors as similar letters. They counted the number of verses and words in each book in order to preserve it from future corruption. They recorded, but in a rambling, unmethodical way, the textual notes of their predecessors for centuries before.

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[1] Cfr. Mielziner, Introduction to the Talmud, p. 4, sqq. According to him, however, the Mishnah means strictly "the instruction in the traditional law, in contradistinction to מִקְרָא, the reading in the written law of the Bible."

[2] The Palestinian Talmud is also called, but less correctly, the Talmud of Jerusalem.

"The Talmud contains many traces of their rough-and-ready method of Biblical Criticism. It enumerates certain words which they found in their Bible MSS. with a little mark already placed over them, thus showing us that at least some rude sort of textual criticism existed even before their days. . . .

"The great security of the text among the Talmudists is the extreme reverence and awe with which it was regarded. Human nature is a strange compound. The very men who practically were putting their commentary in the place of the Bible almost worshipped the letter of that Bible itself. They wrote every word in it with scrupulous care; they washed their pens before the holy name (Yahweh); they dared not alter even a plain mistake, except by a correction in the margin of the text."[1]

It is also to the labors of the Talmudists, concerning the Holy Scriptures, that we may refer in the main, what has been called "*an exegetical tradition*,"[2] or fixed method of pronouncing and dividing the sacred text. But owing to their great reverence for the letter of Holy Writ, they never thought of adding to the consonants any vowel marks, and they simply transmitted orally the received method of reading. In point of fact, St. Jerome, so well acquainted with the exegetical methods of the rabbis of his time, knows of no written vowel points, and testifies that, even in his day, pronunciation is still to some extent a matter of choice and locality.[1]

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[1] J. Paterson Smyth, The Old Documents and the New Bible, p. 80, sqq. Of special importance are the variations known as *K^{e}thibh* (written) and *Qeri* (read), several of which go back to the Talmudists and show that to their minds the reading they indicated in the margin (the *Qeri*) was superior to what was found in the text (the *K^{e}thibh*.) For instances, see S. Davidson, A Treatise on Biblical Criticism, vol. i, p. 117 (Boston, 1853)

[2] A. F. Kirkpatrick, The Divine Library of the Old Testament, p. 67.

3. The Massoretes. However important may have been the critical work of the Talmudists, it cannot compare with that of the rabbis who came after them, and are now known under the name of the MASSORETES. Generation after generation, these "Masters of the Massorah" busied themselves with writing down whatever traditional data connected with the sacred text might secure its correct reading and accurate transcription. Their aim, whether in Babylon or in Tiberias, the two great centres of Jewish learning at this time, was in no way to produce a critical edition of the sacred text as we would understand it to-day, that is, with textual changes as required by different readings found in MSS. still in existence, or preserved orally by tradition. This method of dealing with the holy writings was entirely foreign to the time-honored customs of their teachers and ancestors, and in point of fact instead of introducing such changes into the sacred text, they simply and faithfully preserved the consonants they had before their eyes.[2] For proof of this we have only to consult the margin of our printed Bibles, which reproduce the Massoretic edition, whenever the reader is directed to do so by a small circle inserted in the text. At times we shall find that the margin bids the reader transpose, interchange, restore or remove a consonant, while at other times, it directs him to omit or insert even an entire word. Now, this clearly implies that to the mind of our learned Jewish rabbis, the traditional text was actually wrong in all these cases, and that consequently, if they had been less anxious to hand it down in the precise form in which it lay before their eyes, they would have themselves made the desired corrections instead of simply prescribing them to the reader.[1] At other times the margin calls attention to peculiarities of writing, such as the presence of some consonant of unusual size, of some letter written above the line, of dots placed over a letter, etc. And here again had the Massoretes been less particular about transmitting even the least details of the traditional text, they would most naturally have done away with these and similar irregularities: the consonant of unusual size would have assumed the ordinary dimensions, the letter written above the line because at first forgotten by the scribe, would have been inserted in its proper place in the word, etc.

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[1] Cfr. St. JEROME, Epist. ad Evangelum presbyterum (Epist. lxxiii, § 8); and his Comm. in Jeremiam ix, 22; in Isaiam xxxviii, 14.

[2] The remarks which follow concerning the work of the Massoretes, have already appeared in the American Ecclesiastical Review, for Feb., 1896, art. The Hebrew Bible, by the present writer.

But the Massoretes were not satisfied with transmitting most faithfully the consonantal text as they had received it; they also wished, after the example of the Talmudists, to secure its intact preservation through future ages. With this end in view, they furnished copyists with ampler means than in the past of avoiding or detecting errors of transmission. One of these means is still found at the end of each book of our Hebrew Bibles. Thus, for instance, at the end of Genesis, the copyist is told that the book contains 1,534 verses, that the total number of its letters is

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[1] In this connection, it must be said that the readings thus recommended in our printed Bibles are those which were adopted by the school of Tiberias, and which differ at times from those preferred by the school of Babylon.

4,395, that the exact middle of the book occurs in chapter xxvii, 40; and lest he should forget these details, mnemonic words are supplied. As another means to secure exact transcripts of the original, we may mention marginal notes found in larger Hebrew Bibles and usually introduced in connection with passages where any error was to be feared. Thus, regarding the phrase "the Spirit of God" (Elohim), the note says: "It occurs eight times," and indicates the places. In all other cases but these eight it is "the Spirit of the Lord" (Yahweh); and the note keeps the copyist from dropping into this easy mistake of writing the more common phrase. Elsewhere, the Massoretes put the copyists on their guard against changing the proper place of some small and apparently insignificant word. This is the case for instance with Josue ix, 1, where we read, "When all the kings who were beyond Jordan, the Hethite *and* the Amorite, the Chanaanite, the Pherezite, the Hevite *and* the Jebusite." There a marginal note warns the transcriber to write the conjunction "and" (ו) only twice, and that before the second and before the sixth proper names.

The most powerful means, however, to prevent errors of transcription consists in the minute rules which were laid down for copying synagogue manuscripts, and the principal of which will be given a little later.

All this body of traditional remarks and rules, with additions by the Massoretes themselves, bear the name of the *Massorah* and were at first written in separate MSS. Later on they were transferred to the margins of the copies of the Bible, around the text, and according as they are given in a fuller or a more abbreviated form, they constitute what is called the Greater or the Lesser Massorah.

Beside the critical apparatus so far described, and faint traces of which still appear in our printed editions, the Massoretes devised various signs to secure the correct reading of the original and placed them in or around the consonants, as we may still see them indicated in the MSS. of the period and in our ordinary copies of the Hebrew Bible. Many of the signs, like those in our pronouncing dictionaries, point out the correct way of articulating the consonants, or indicate the exact vowel sounds with which the letters should be coupled. Other signs constitute a regular system of accents intended to regulate the modulated reading of the sacred text. They make known to the reader which syllable in each word must be pronounced with a special stress of the voice, which words in the sentence should be either separated from or connected with each other, and finally what is the musical cadence required by the various groups of words.

Such is the wonderful reading apparatus with which each page of the original Hebrew is actually supplied. Its origin is traced back to the learned Jewish rabbis of Tiberias,[1] who gradually improved it and finally brought it to its perfection about the middle of the eighth century.[2] But it is important to bear in mind that here also the Massoretes did not originate a new method of reading the text. They simply stereotyped what had long been current under the form of oral tradition, and as we know from a comparison with the pronunciation indicated by Origen in his *Hexapla*, that tradition carries us back to the first centuries of the Christian era.

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[1] "Babylon and Tiberias each adopted a distinct system of pronunciation marks. In all essential points the two systems agree. The Babylonian, however, is less elaborate. It was completed first probably in the seventh century, but it fell entirely into disuse. It does not appear in any printed Bibles, and is known only from MSS., of which the most famous is the St. Petersburg Codex of the Prophets, date 916 A.D." (A. F. KIRKPATRICK, The Divine Library of the Old Testament, p. 70).

[2] The Massoretic vowel signs grew most likely out of the single dot which the Syrian scholars of Edessa were the first to use to distinguish certain letters and forms (cfr. LOISY, loc. cit., p. 160, sq.; BRIGGS, Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture, p. 180, sq.).

Whatever may be thought of the endless, confusing, and at times puerile, details into which the Massoretes did not hesitate to go in order to secure the faithful transcription, and, as far as they knew, the correct pronunciation of the Hebrew Text, it cannot be denied that they proceeded on really traditional lines, and that their arduous labors obtained their end during the centuries of transcription which followed.

§ 3. *The Third Period (to our Day).*

1. Preservation of the Text. It was only natural that the original Hebrew as revised and edited by the Massoretes, should be adopted by the Jewish scribes who came after them and should be henceforth transmitted with the greatest care. This Massoretic Text was new only in so far as it bore the impress of the best scholarship of recent times; it was the old traditional text, in every other respect. It presented the same consonants as had been copied in past ages, and exhibited them with their ancient peculiarities of writing, sometimes even with their most evident mistakes, noted indeed in the margin, but left uncorrected in the text. Besides, the Massoretes themselves had gradually introduced its use, and had taken all the precautions necessary to secure its accurate transcription in the future. We are not therefore surprised to find that, in point of fact, all the extant MSS. which were written after the age of the Massoretes, contain the Massoretic Text, and this with but slight variations. As the pre-Massoretic copies became defaced or damaged, and were on that account withdrawn from public use, other copies were substituted in their place, and these, as a matter of course, reproduced carefully what was now considered the best text, viz., that of the Massoretes.

As all our extant MSS. belong to the same family—the

Massoretic,—and as the oldest among them[1] are not much older than the others, the only distinction of any importance between them is that which is based on the use for which they were intended. According as they were destined to public or to private use, they were submitted to more or less strict rules of transcription, and therefore may be expected to present a degree of accuracy proportionate to the care required in their production. Naturally enough, the strictest rules laid down regarded the making of the *synagogal* copies, that is, of those MSS. which were intended for use in the synagogues. They had to be written on skins, fastened together so as to form a roll, whose columns had a fixed length and width. They must contain nothing but the consonants, and the scribe must in no way deviate from the authorized copy which is given him as an exemplar. No word must be written from memory, but be attentively read in the standard text and be orally pronounced before it goes down. In writing any of the sacred names of God the scribe must lift up his mind with devotion and reverence, etc. The copy had to be examined within thirteen days, and some authors assert that a mistake of a single letter vitiated the entire manuscript; others, however, maintain that it was permitted to correct three in one sheet: if more were found, the rolls were condemned to be buried in the ground or burned, or were banished to the schools, to be used as reading-books.

Had the synagogue rolls contained the entire text of the Bible, or had the copies made for private use been submitted to the same precise rules of transcription as those intended for the public services, there is no doubt that most of the variations which occur in the extant MSS. would have been avoided. In reality, the synagogal copies contained only the *Pentateuch*, sections from "the Prophets," and the five books called "Rolls" (מְגִלּוֹת) by the Jews, viz.: Canticle of Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes and Esther,[1] and consequently only these books or parts of books were transcribed with the extraordinary care just referred to. Private copies, a comparatively small number of which comprised all the books of the Hebrew Bible, were written in book form, sometimes on parchment, sometimes on paper, and usually in the square character.[2] Ink of various colors could be used, and the size of the columns was not necessarily uniform. Oftentimes the original text was accompanied by an Aramaic paraphrase, arranged either in a parallel column to, or between, the lines of the Hebrew. In the upper and lower margins (generally speaking) the Greater Massorah was written; in the external side margins were put notes, comments, corrections and divisions of the text, while the Lesser Massorah was inserted between the columns. The Massoretic vowel points and accents, which are still forbidden in the synagogal rolls, were generally inscribed in private copies; but they were always inserted after the transcription of the consonants had been entirely completed.[3]

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[1] Only a few extant MSS. are older than the twelfth century of our era. For details see H. L. Strack, Prolegomena Critica in Vetus Testamentum; and Ad. Neubauer, in Studia Biblica and Ecclesiastica, vol. iii, pp. 1–36.

It goes without saying that deep respect for the Word of God, either alone or combined with the desire of producing copies that would find purchasers, sufficed generally to render the scribes careful in their preparation of manuscripts for private or common use. But of course, despite all their good will, deviations, not indeed very considerable, still of some importance, crept into the MSS., especially into those which were written for ordinary purposes, and these deviations from the Massoretic standard were seriously objected to by some French and Spanish leading rabbis of the thirteenth century.[1]

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[1] These five books were read publicly at certain festivals in the synagogues, viz., the Canticle of Canticles at the Passover; Ruth at Pentecost; Lamentations on the ninth day of the month of Ab (the day on which Jerusalem was destroyed by the Romans); Ecclesiastes at the feast of Tabernacles, and Esther at the feast of Purim.

[2] Some of them are written in the smaller and cursive rabbinic letters.

[3] F. G. KENYON, Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts, p. 35.

When the art of printing was invented it would have been a comparatively easy work to prepare and spread a more correct Massoretic text, by means of an extensive and careful examination of the MSS. then in existence, but no work of the kind was attempted at the time. The first part of the Hebrew Bible which appeared in print was a very defective text of the Psalms,[2] published in 1477 (without the name of the place of publication). Soon afterwards the other books were printed in different towns of Italy, and as early as 1488 a complete edition of the Hebrew Text appeared at Soncino (near Cremona), made partly from MSS. and partly from the texts already printed. This first Hebrew Bible, "which varied considerably from the Massoretic text,"[3] served as a basis to several other editions, among which we may mention that of Brescia, in 1494 (used by Luther in making his version of the Old Testament), the first rabbinical[4] edition of Bomberg (Venice, 1517–1518), and the manual editions of Bomberg (1517, 1521), of R. Estienne (1539), and Sebastian Münster (Basle, 1534).

The second independent text was printed at the cost of Cardinal Ximenes, at Alcala (1514–1517). It was made upon good Massoretic MSS., and presents the text with vowel points but without accents.

The third independent text was edited by Jacob ben Chayim in the second Rabbinical Bible of Bomberg (Venice, 1526). This was carefully revised after the Massorah.

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[1] Cfr. Loisy, loc. cit., p. 180, sq.

[2] Cfr. Preface by Delitzsch. to S. Baer, Liber Psalmorum, p. v.

[3] A. Cave, An Introduction to Theology, p. 302 (2d edition).

[4] The Rabbinical Bibles are thus called because they contain the Targums, with various Jewish commentaries.

All the printed editions from that time[1] were more or less mixtures of these three texts, until S. Baer and Franz Delitzsch undertook a fourth independent edition, by means of the entire Massoretic apparatus accessible. They published the several books separately, by intervals between 1869 and 1895, when this most valuable edition of the traditional text remained incomplete by the death of both editors. "A fifth independent text has just been published by Christian D. Ginsburg, two vols., 1894, which will be doubtless for some time the standard edition of the Massoretic text. It is essentially based upon the first edition of Jacob ben Chayim's Massoretic recension."[2]

2. Criticism of the Text. All the editions thus far mentioned do not go back of the Hebrew standard fixed by the Massoretes, but simply give its text in a more or less accurate form. Their purpose is not to appraise the traditional text, to determine whether and how far it contains deviations from the very words used by the inspired writers, but rather to restore the forms and expressions which had been agreed upon by the Massoretes long centuries after the composition of the Holy Scriptures, and which had already undergone greater or lesser changes. In consequence, they bear witness much more to a practical wish to supply useful or correct copies of the received text, than to theoretical preoccupations concerning its value. In point of fact, doubts or preoccupations about the perfect integrity of the Massoretic Text hardly ever crossed the mind of Jewish scholars[3] wedded as they were to tradition and accustomed to trace back anything ancient, the exact origin of which they did not know, to a very remote antiquity, or to some great and final authority, like that of Moses or of Esdras and the Great Synagogue. Consonants and vowel signs and accents were supposed to go back to the inspired writers; the authority of the Massoretic Text was held supreme, and any version or document differing from it was in so far treated as unreliable.

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[1] One of these editions was published by Van der Hooght (Amsterdam, 1705); it has been until recent times the *Textus Receptus* of the Hebrew Bible.

[2] BRIGGS, op. cit., p. 187.

[3] Only a very few Jewish doctors rejected the original character of the vowel points. Frants BUHL, Canon and Text of the Old Testament, p. 209 (Eng. edit.), names only Mar Matronai II, Menahem ben Sarug, Judah Chayug, and Elias Levita.

Attracted by views, which, in affirming the plenary inspiration of everything in the Hebrew Bible, made it easy to deny the necessity of the Catholic Church as the living interpreter of the Sacred Scriptures, and to reject the value of the Latin Vulgate but lately declared *authentic* by the Council of Trent, many Protestant scholars, led by the two Buxtorfs (father and son) the great Hebrew teachers of Basle, defended with vigor and learning the perfect integrity of the Hebrew Text.[1] They were opposed with equal vigor and ability by Louis Cappel, a Protestant, Professor at Saumur, and by Jean Morin, a French Oratorian, who both maintained that the vowel points were of late origin, that the Massoretic Text is far from being perfect, and must even be corrected in many passages by the help of the ancient versions, especially the Septuagint. These opponents of the Massoretic Text went no doubt too far in depreciating its value, as its enthusiastic admirers had gone too far in exalting its authority, and this is well pointed out by Rich. SIMON when he says: "It cannot be denied that the Hebrew and Greek copies to which Protestants ascribe the very perfection of the originals have been altered in numberless places. Yet they should not be put aside altogether to follow blindly the ancient versions, either Greek or Latin, which the Church has authorized by her long use, but the Hebrew Text should be improved upon by means of extant MSS. and of the ancient versions of Holy Writ . . . , and though we can solidly draw grounds of our faith from the versions which the Church has approved of, still the same Church does not affirm that these translations are either infallible or absolutely correct in all their parts."[1]

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[1] The passage of Brian WALTON, the editor of the great London Polyglot, bearing on this point and quoted by BRIGGS, Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture, p. 224, is particularly instructive. Cfr., also, Richard SIMON, Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament, vol. i, Book i, chap. xxvii, p. 146.

These wise words of "the Father of Biblical Criticism" were apparently hearkened to in France by the Jesuit Father HOUBIGANT († 1783), and in England by the celebrated Oxford scholar, Benj. Kennicott († 1783), but they were not destined to modify, to any considerable extent, the hitherto prevalent currents of criticism. Catholic theologians continued to cling to the text of the Vulgate, and Protestant scholars appealed as confidently as ever to the Massoretic Text. Indeed, it may be said that for a while the views indorsed by Rich. Simon must have appeared altogether untenable, particularly as the immense labors of B. Kennicott and of De Rossi († 1831) who compared about 1,600 copies, proved that each and all reproduce faithfully the text of the Massoretes, that is a text, as we have already seen, which goes back practically to the second century of our era. This established the wonderful fact that for nearly seventeen hundred years the form of the Hebrew Bible has been preserved practically unchanged, and suggested to many scholars a most natural inference. They concluded from the deep reverence and successful care with which the Jews had handled the original Hebrew ever since the coming of Christ, that a no less profound respect and no less successful care were exercised concerning it during the period which extends between the beginning of our era and the precise time at which the sacred books were composed.

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[1] Rich. SIMON, Hist. Critique du Vieux Test., vol. i, Book iii, chap. xviii. p. 465.

But, however natural the inference, and however tempting the very completeness of the theory it suggested, the subsequent labors of critics such as Jahn, Justus Olshausen, Thenius, Julius Wellhausen, Abraham Geiger, Graetz, Bickell, Cornill, Driver, Martin, etc., etc., have proved that the Hebrew Text is far indeed from being perfect, and that after all it should be corrected pretty much on the lines which Rich. Simon had indicated. We cannot, of course, enter here into the details of the methods of criticism which these leading scholars have applied or are still applying to the Hebrew Bible. We cannot delay to show how a careful examination of grammatical forms and connections of words is used to disclose omissions or interpolations; how the laws of Hebrew poetry, so long unknown, are successfully applied as a means of testing the integrity of the poetical books or portions of books; how passages repeated in different places have served as a means of comparison to discover alterations, and Jewish traditions have been studied in their sources to testify to changes introduced into the very *consonants* composing the primitive text; how, finally, the ancient versions, more especially the Septuagint, have been carefully compared with the original Hebrew, and many of the important variations discovered have been traced back to a text considerably different existing in Hebrew MSS. of the second century before Christ.[1] Suffice it to say, that the result of the immense labor of critics during the nineteenth century has forever disposed of the old theory that our Hebrew Bible reproduces with perfect accuracy the original documents as they came forth from the hands of the inspired writers.

It is in consequence of this truly scientific conclusion that works of great importance were recently started with the purpose of reaching a better text by means of the strictest methods of the Textual and Higher Criticism. We have in view (1) the invaluable edition entitled *The Sacred Books of the Old Testament in Hebrew* begun in 1893, and published by eminent scholars of Europe and America under the direction of Prof. Paul Haupt; (2) the new English translation of *The Sacred Books of the Old and New Testaments* begun in 1898, and under the same general editor as the preceding work, to which in fact it corresponds in many ways; (3) *The International Critical Commentary* under the editorship of Professors Driver and Briggs, for the Old Testament, a serial publication begun in 1895 and still issuing; finally (4) *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, edited by Francis Brown, with the co-operation of Driver and Briggs, the first part of which appeared in 1891 and is still in course of publication. Other works intended to secure as far as possible and spread the primitive text of the separate books will be referred to in our forthcoming volume on *Special* Introduction to the Old Testament.

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[1] For examples, cfr. LOISY, loc. cit., p. 213, sqq.; T. K. ABBOTT, Essays Chiefly on the Original Texts; and art. on The Hebrew Bible, in the American Ecclesiastical Review for Feb., 1896, pp. 118–126, by the present writer.

3. Concluding Remarks. Such is in brief the history of the original text of the Old Testament. Its every stage is surrounded with great obscurity, yet not to such an extent as to prevent us from realizing something of the varied fortunes it underwent through past ages. Proofs abound that the scribes of the first period of its transmission were far less careful than transcribers of later times—that not only have accidental changes crept into the consonants of the text, but that even intentional alterations have been introduced. Far from reproducing with almost perfect accuracy the original work of the inspired writers, our Hebrew (the Massoretic) Text contains alterations both numerous and important. Yet they are not really greater than one might naturally expect in documents so long preserved, so often transcribed by all manner of copyists. Besides, however numerous and important, neither any one of them in particular, nor all combined, can be said to impair in any way seriously the sacred deposit of Revelation contained in the Divine Scriptures of the Old Testament. Specialists of the nineteenth century have already done excellent work in their attempts to restore the primitive reading either of select passages or of entire books, but incomparably more still remains to be done to secure a text whose corrections will commend themselves to all, as the result of reverent, judicious, patient and thorough criticism. Meantime the Textus Receptus may safely be used for ordinary purposes of reference and interpretation: in most passages of dogmatic importance, however, recourse should be had to the valuable commentaries which have appeared on the separate books of the Hebrew Bible.

Finally, owing to the custom of the Jews to bury all sacred MSS. which had become unfit for public use, owing also to the small number of copies which ever were in circulation before the Christian era, there is no probability that we shall ever find Hebrew MSS. that would go back to a period before the formation of the text which we know as Massoretic. Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible must therefore be pursued in the future as in the past without the least hope of such discovery, but with the most diligent use of whatever evidence may be gathered from all the sources of information.

§ 4. *The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Aramaic Targums.*

We subjoin in form of an *Appendix* a few remarks on the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Aramaic Targums, which, on account of their origin and leading characteristics, stand in a very special relation to the original text of the Old Testament.

1. The Samaritan Pentateuch. It may be truly said that the Samaritan Pentateuch is simply a Hebrew copy of "the Law," inasmuch as it contains the first five books of the Bible in the Hebrew tongue, though written in a different character from that of the extant Hebrew MSS. It is written in the *archaic* Hebrew character, which, as we saw in the foregoing chapter, was probably given up by the Jews in favor of the Aramaic form of writing in the fourth century before Christ. Whence it follows that the Samaritan Text goes back to the period before this occurred; but a more precise date for its origin cannot be assigned with absolute certainty. Various considerations, however, have led modern scholars generally to admit that the Samaritans received the books of Moses as their sacred books only a short time before this event, and to connect their reception with the fact recorded in Nehem. xiii, 23–30, viz., the expulsion by Nehemias of a grandson of the high priest Eliasib, who had married the daughter of the hated governor of Samaria. This expulsion was soon followed by the erection of a Samaritan temple[1] on Mt. Garizim, and by the full organization of a schismatic worship, in view of which the grandson of Eliasib, named Manasses, had most likely brought with him a copy of the Pentateuch, which thus became the Bible of the Samaritans.

The Pentateuch is therefore a Hebrew Text whose origin is to be traced back to a period much remote from the time when our Massoretic Text was fixed. No wonder, then, that when, in 1616, the first copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch was brought to Europe by the Italian traveller, Pietro della Valle, many scholars thought that they at length possessed a text far superior to that of the Hebrew MSS. The first printed edition was published by the French Oratorian, Jean Morin, in 1632, and for generations a hot controversy raged among biblical scholars concerning the comparative value of the Samaritan and Hebrew texts. The elaborate essay of Gesenius, which was published in 1815, and in which this great Hebrew scholar examined all the differences between the two documents, proved to the satisfaction of many scholars that in no instance was a Samaritan reading preferable to that of the Hebrew. Of late, however, there is a tendency to regard this absolute verdict in favor of the Hebrew Text as altogether one-sided.

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[1] Cfr. JOSEPHUS, Antiquities of the Jews, Book xi, chap. viii.

"The Samaritan Pentateuch has been estimated to differ from the Hebrew in about 6,000 places. The great majority of these are of very trifling importance, consisting of grammatical alterations or the substitution of Samaritan idioms for Hebrew. Others (as the substitution of *Garizim* for *Ebal* in Deuter. xxvii, 4, as the hill on which the memorial altar should be placed) are alterations of substance, so as to suit Samaritan ideas of ritual or religion. Others contain supplements of apparent deficiencies by the help of similar passages in other books, repetitions of speeches and the like from parallel passages, the removal of obscurities or insertion of explanatory words or sentences, or distinct differences of reading. In all these latter cases there may evidently be two opinions as to whether the Samaritan or the Hebrew reading is preferable. The apparent deficiencies in the Hebrew may be real, the obscurities may be due to error, and the Samaritan Text may be nearer to the original language. This probability is greatly increased when we find that in many passages where the Samaritan differs from the Hebrew, the Greek Septuagint Version (of which we shall speak in a future chapter) agrees with the former. For example, the Samaritan and Hebrew texts differ very frequently as to the ages of the patriarchs mentioned in the early chapters of Genesis. Gesenius classified these variations as alterations introduced on grounds of suitability; but it is at least possible that they are not alterations at all, but the original text, and that the numbers have become corrupt in the Hebrew Text; and this possibility is turned into a probability when we find the Septuagint supporting the Samaritan readings. There is no satisfactory proof of either the Septuagint or the Samaritan Text having been corrected from each other, nor is it likely in itself; and their independent evidence is extremely difficult to explain away. Hence scholars are now becoming more disposed to think favorably of the Samaritan readings. Many of them may be errors, many more may be unimportant, but there remain several which are of real value."[1]

The real worth of the last-mentioned differences is made out by various means, especially by reference to the context and by appeal to the ancient versions of the Old Testament.

2. The Jewish Targums. Among the ancient versions just referred to are justly numbered those written in that language which is called "the Hebrew tongue" in the New Testament,[2] but is really the *Aramaic*, which, as we saw in the preceding chapter, gradually supplanted the Hebrew proper on the lips of the Jews after the Babylonian captivity. As the Hebrew became more and more an unknown language to the people at large, the necessity of paraphrasing the sacred text into the current Aramaic tongue was felt more and more. At first, these paraphrases were simply oral interpretations and comments, as apparently in the scene described in Nehem. viii, 1–8; soon, however—how soon cannot, of course, be defined—this method of interpretation was reduced to a system, assumed a written form and developed into a kind of popular Bible. These written paraphrases are called "Targums," the name itself meaning probably "interpretation."

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[1] F. G. KENYON, Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts, p. 46, sq.; cfr. also MARTIN, Introduction Générale à la Critique Textuelle de l'Ancien Testament, vol. i, p. 71, sqq.; S. DAVIDSON, A Treatise on Textual Criticism, vol. i, pp. 78–103.

[2] Cfr. Acts of the Apostles xxii, 2; xxvi, 14; etc.

The best extant Targums are: (1) *The Targum of Onkelos*, thus called most likely, not because composed by Onkelos, a Greek translator of the Old Testament, better known under the name of Aquila, but because written with something of the same literal character for which Aquila's Greek Version was remarkable. In point of fact, it is a very simple and literal translation of the entire Pentateuch. In its present shape it probably originated in Babylon, about the third century of our era.

(2) *The Targum of Jonathan ben Uzziel*, on "the Prophets" or second part of the Hebrew Bible, whose present form is assigned to the fourth century after Christ. It is somewhat more free than that of Onkelos.

(3) *The Targums on the Hagiographa*, composed by different authors, more modern, but apparently made, as indeed the other two Targums already mentioned, on the lines of former translations. No Targum is extant on the books of Esdras, Nehemias and Daniel, while there are two Targums on the book of Esther.

The use of the Targums for improving the Hebrew Text requires the greatest caution, because they are usually *paraphrases* rather than close translations, and because even when very literal, or quoting expressly the sacred text, they seldom preserve readings whose exact date can be ascertained.[1]

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[1] For further information concerning the Targums, cfr. BUHL, Canon and Text of the Old Testament, pp. 167–183 (Engl. Transl.): S. DAVIDSON, ibid, pp. 224–239; CORNELY; VIGOUROUX; etc.

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER X.

HISTORY OF THE TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

Section I. Description of the Original Text.

- I. THE GREEK IDIOM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT:
  - 1. Old disputes between *Purists* and *Hebraists.*
  - 2. The Attic dialect altered into a common Greek language (The *Κοινὴ Διάλεκτος*).
  - 3. In the New Testament, the *Κοινὴ Διάλεκτος* modified by
    - The Jewish Hellenists.
    - The Apostolic Writers.

- II. THE GREEK TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT:
  - 1. Publication of the Originals:
    - Writing under dictation.
    - Transcription and correction.
    - Recitation and publication.
  - 2. External form of MSS.:
    - Writing materials.
    - Shape of MSS. (rolls; codices).
  - 3. External form of the Text:
    - Shape of letters (uncial; cursive).
    - Division of words and punctuation.
    - Breathings and accents.

CHAPTER X.

HISTORY OF THE TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

SECTION I. DESCRIPTION OF THE ORIGINAL TEXT.

§ 1. *The Greek Idiom of the New Testament.*

1. Old Disputes between Purists and Hebraists. Theological preoccupations similar to those which induced such prominent Protestant Hebrew scholars as the two Buxtorfs to declare themselves for the plenary inspiration of the Massoretic Text in its every detail, led other Protestant divines of the same and of the following century to embrace no less untenable views regarding the Greek Text of the New Testament. According to them, only very elegant Greek could be a result worthy of the divine guidance granted to the sacred writers of the New Law, and hence they concluded that "the style of the New Testament reaches in every respect the standard of classical purity and elegance."[1] Those *Purists*, as they have been called, recoiled from no laborious research to prove a thesis which had the further advantage in their eyes of undermining the authority of the Latin Vulgate by exalting so highly the original text. Some of them went even so far as to pretend that the very Hebraisms, whose real character they could not distort in any way, were but an additional beauty which the Holy Ghost had combined with the many perfections of classical Greek literature.[1]

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[1] G. B. WINER, A Grammar of the Idiom of the New Testament, p. 12 (Engl. Transl., 7th edit., Andover, 1877).

Hardly less extreme were the views of many of their opponents, known under the name of the *Hebraists* or *Hellenists*. These scholars were bent on disproving the classical character of the diction of the New Testament, and hence they not only strove to show its Hebraistic coloring, but greatly exaggerated it. Some of them even saw Hebraisms in every verse, and feared not to accuse the sacred writers of solecisms and barbarisms.[2]

Between these two extreme positions a few biblical scholars occupied a middle ground, and endeavored to discriminate between the Greek and Hebrew elements of the style of the New Testament. This more reasonable view ultimately prevailed, but its final success was secured only after long and ardent disputes between the Purists and Hebraists. Nothing, in fact, contributed more powerfully towards this all-desirable issue of the conflict than the remarkable work published as late as the first quarter of the nineteenth century, by George Benedict Winer, under the title of *Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms* (Leipsig, 1822). Ever since, biblical scholars have granted that the diction of the New Testament is far removed from classic purity, and that Hebraisms should be admitted only in places where their presence is unmistakable.

2. The Attic Dialect Altered into a Common Greek Language. In maintaining so strenuously their view that the purest Attic forms the staple of the New Testament diction, the Purists evinced not only their strong theological bias, but also their profound ignorance of the many and important changes which this Greek dialect underwent several centuries before Christ, and which have left their impress upon the writings of the New Testament. The beginning of these changes goes as far back as the conquest of the various Greek states by Philip II, King of Macedonia, in the fourth century before our era. Then it was that the four leading Greek dialects (the Æolic, Doric, Ionic, and Attic), which had hitherto followed parallel lines of development in the separate communities which used them, began to exchange freely words and forms, because of the closer intercourse which soon prevailed among these communities, after their union under the Macedonian rule. Then it was also that the Attic dialect, which had produced the most abundant and the best literature in the past,[1] became the language of the court and of literature, with the natural result that the writers who adopted it mingled with it much that was derived from the dialect of their own district or region. This altering of pure Attic, which is already noticeable under the pen of Aristotle, increased in proportion as the conquests of his illustrious pupil, Alexander the Great, extended far and wide the influence of Greek language and literature.

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[1] The incomplete and arbitrary character of the methods of the *Purists* is admirably exposed by WINER, A Grammar of the Idiom of the New Testament, p. 16, sq. Cfr. also BEELEN, Grammatica Græcitatis Novi Testamenti, p 8, sqq.

[2] Cfr. CHAUVIN, Leçons d'Introduction Générale, p. 247.

Thus was the Attic dialect gradually transformed from the particular and pure language of Attica, into the universal or "common" (the *Κοινὴ Διάλεκτος*) language of all Greek-speaking states, including not only Macedonia, Greece, and Asia Minor, but also the extensive Macedonian provinces of Syria and Egypt. The best-known prose writers who used this *Hellenic* (so called in opposition to the *Attic*) language, are Polybius, Plutarch, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, Dio Cassius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Lucian. Their style is far indeed from the pure Attic of Xenophon, Demosthenes and Plato, not only because it contains words borrowed from the other Greek dialects, but also because it comprises words either entirely new, or employed with a new meaning, or taken from the ancient vocabulary of poetry, or even borrowed from foreign languages such as the Egyptian, Persian, etc. Important alterations have also been pointed out by grammarians in connection with the inflections of nouns and verbs, and with the rules of syntax.[1]

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[1] The Attic is the dialect in which were written the tragedies of Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, the comedies of Aristophanes, the histories of Thucydides and Xenophon, the philosophical dialogues of Plato and the speeches of Demosthenes. It is closely allied to the Ionic, in which dialect Homer sang the Iliad and the Odyssey, and Herodotus wrote his history.

3. The Κοινὴ Διάλεκτος in the New Testament. As might naturally be expected, the Greek language underwent still greater changes on the lips of the people. When Alexandria, Antioch and other great cities were founded in the East by Alexander the Great and his successors, Greeks of divers tribes and dialects flocked to these new centres of commerce, and from their free intercourse soon resulted a popular form of language which was, to some extent, peculiar to each of these cities, and which in all cases deviated much more from Attic purity and elegance than did the literary language used by men of culture. The Greek-speaking Jews (or *Hellenists*) in particular, spoke Greek less purely than native Greeks and imparted to it more or less the impress of their mother tongue. Under the pen of their writers, who had learned Greek much less from books than from oral intercourse with the mixed population of Egypt and Syria, the Κοινὴ Διάλεκτος joined to the various imperfections of the popular idiom a Semitic coloring which has caused it to be named the *Hellenistic* dialect. This is precisely the kind of debased Greek which we find in the Septuagint translation of the Hebrew Bible, in the deutero-canonical books or parts of books, and, to some extent, even in Philo and Josephus, who, though well acquainted with Greek literature and aiming at a pure style, betray at times their Jewish origin. This is also the kind of Greek which is to be found in the writings of the New Testament, so that their style is, speaking generally, very far removed from Attic purity and elegance.[1] Of course, the Hebraizing element is not noticeable to the same extent in all the inspired writings of the New Testament. St. Mark and St. Matthew are most Hellenistic, St. Luke, the Acts and the Epistle to the Hebrews, least Hellenistic, in their diction.

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[1] For numerous examples, cfr. Winer, loc. cit., pp. 22—27; p. 36 sq.; Immer, Hermeneutics of the New Testament, quoted by Ph. Schaff, A Companion to the Greek Testament and the English Version (4th edit.), p. 20, sqq.

Finally, there was an altogether new element added to the Κοινὴ Διάλεκτος, by the Apostolic writers themselves. Beside the various religious conceptions which were common to Judaism and Christianity and for the expression of which the Septuagint Version and other Hellenistic writings had already supplied Greek words and forms, the writers of the New Testament had new truths to convey, new aspects of old beliefs to illustrate and emphasize. Hence the necessity either to coin new words, or to use in a very different meaning from the one hitherto received, the words and expressions of the Hellenistic dialect. "Words in common use among the classics, or in popular intercourse, were clothed with a deeper spiritual significance; they were transplanted from a lower to a higher sphere, from mythology to revelation, from the order of nature to the order of grace, from the realm of sense to the realm of faith.

"This applies to those characteristic terms which express the fundamental ideas of Christianity—as gospel, faith, love, hope, mercy, peace, light, life, repentance or conversion, regeneration, redemption, justification, sanctification, grace, humility, apostle, evangelist, baptism, kingdom of heaven."[1]

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[1] For particulars, cfr. beside the Grammar of Winer already referred to, A Grammar of the New Testament Greek by Alex. BUTTMANN; The Writers of the New Testament by W. H. SIMCOX; etc. For the relations between the Synoptists and the Septuagint, see HAWKINS, Horæ Synopticæ, p. 162, sqq.

§ 2. *The Greek Text of the New Testament.*

1. The Publication of the Originals.[2] As the writings of the New Testament were composed in the current Greek language of the time, so were they published in the same way as ordinary books. It is clear, for instance, that St. Paul's epistles were written under dictation, after the manner of the ancients who seldom wrote their compositions with their own hand, but dictated them to their freedmen or slaves, some of whom acted as ταχυγράφοι, amanuenses, notarii, rapid writers. Thus the amanuensis, Tertius, who wrote the Epistle to the Romans, has mentioned himself in it.[3] Again St. Paul notes as a peculiar circumstance, in his Epistle to the Galatians (vi, 11), that he has written to them with his own hand,[4] while in other cases, he usually adds *propria manu* only the closing words "as a sign in every Epistle."[5]

The first draught, written very hastily, was committed to the care of the βιβλιογράφος (librarius) or the καλλιγράφος whose business it was to transcribe it in a neat and elegant manner. The copy thus obtained was next passed to the corrector, διορθωτὴς, and finally to the ἀντιβάλλων, who made sure of the accuracy of the transcription. "Historical works were always to receive, by means of the calligraphist and the corrector, that extreme perfection which was required in writing which was to come into the hands of many readers,"[1] and we may well imagine that such historical books as the Gospel of St. Luke and the book of the Acts, for instance, were submitted to this careful transcription and correction.

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[1] Philip SCHAFF, Companion to the Greek Testament and English Version, p. 39, sq.

[2] Cfr. HUG, Introduction to the New Test., p. 67 sq. (Engl. Transl.); CHAUVIN, Leçons d'Introduction Générale, p. 258.

[3] Rom. xvi, 22.

[4] Cfr. also Philemon, verse 19.

[5] II Thess. iii, 17; cfr. I Cor. xvi, 21; Colos. iv, 18.

Of course, at that time, compositions of any kind could be multiplied only by transcripts. When they had passed in this way to others, they were beyond the control of the author and therefore published. Christians had not the advantage of publication by means of booksellers, till a comparatively late period.

The publication was preceded by the *recitatio*, which, carried out in the presence of several persons, had the twofold advantage of securing witnesses to the true author of the work, and of obtaining friendly criticism: if the composition was deemed worthy, it was requested for the purpose of transcription, and then the work left the hands of the writer and belonged to the public.

Frequently an individual sent his literary production to some distinguished man, as a present, or inscribed his name to it as a proof of esteem or friendship. He who accepted the dedication of a work was henceforth considered as the *patronus libri*, and it was his duty to provide for its publication by means of transcription.

Thus too did the first Christian writings make their appearance before the public. "The Epistles were read aloud in the churches to which they were directed, and then whoever wished to possess them made a copy of them himself or caused one to be made. The historical productions were made public by the authors *per recitationem*, in the Christian assemblies: the subject and the general interest in it procured them readers and transcribers."[2] Finally, St. Luke dedicated his historical works to an illustrious personage, named Theophilus, who, in accepting the dedication, assumed also the charge of multiplying and spreading copies of them.[1]

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[1] Hug, Introduction to the New Testament, p. 67.

[2] Hug, ibid, p. 68.

2. External Form of Manuscripts. It is all but certain that the books of the New Testament were originally written on papyrus, which after it had been manufactured for writing purposes was called χάρτης (in Latin *charta*).[2] This was at the time the common material of the Greek literary world, and for books written by poor authors, or for epistolary correspondence, no other would naturally be thought of. Again, it has been often remarked that in our oldest parchment MSS. of the New Testament, the general appearance of a page with its many narrow columns, points back to a time when the sacred text was still written on sheets of papyrus. In point of fact, St. John (II Epistle, verse 12) says expressly that having many things more to write to his correspondent, he prefers not to commit them to the χάρτης, or sheet of papyrus, but rather to wait for a communication of them from mouth to mouth. It is true that St. Paul, writing to Timothy (II Tim. iv, 13), directs him to bring with him "τὰ βιβλία, μάλιστα τὰς μεμβράνας," an expression which refers to both papyrus (βιβλία)[3] and parchment (μεμβράναι) rolls, but it is probable that the parchment MSS. alluded to were copies of parts of the Old Testament.[4]

The primitive shape of these papyrus MSS. was unquestionably that of *Rolls*, according to the custom of all the nations of antiquity who used papyrus or even parchment for literary purposes (cfr. Apocalypse vi, 14). The roll was formed by pasting together some twenty sheets of papyrus, the best of which were usually reserved for the outside part of the roll, because this part was more exposed to risk of damage and to general wear and tear: beside, a protecting strip of papyrus was often pasted down the edge at the beginning or end of the roll, in order to give additional strength to the material and prevent it from being torn.[1] It is not unlikely that "the elder of the church in Western Asia who arose in his congregation to read the letter of St. Paul, which we know as the Epistle to the Ephesians, must have held in his hand a roll of white or light yellow material about four feet in length and some ten inches in height. The Acts of the Apostles might have formed a portly roll of thirty feet, or might even have been divided into two or more sections. Even had the idea been entertained of making a collection of all the books which now form our New Testament, it would have been quite impossible to combine them in a single volume."[2] This became feasible only when parchment, or vellum as it is now called, was introduced in the transcription of the sacred books, for the sheets of parchment could be written on both sides.

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[1] We assume here, as most probable, that Theophilus, spoken of in the third Gospel with the honorable epithet of κράτιστε was a real person holding then some high official position (cfr. Acts xxiii, 26; xxiv, 3; xxvi, 25). Cfr. KNABENBAUER, Comm. in S. Lucam, p. 37 sq.; PLUMMER, Internat. Crit. Commentary, St. Luke, p. 5.

[2] For the manner in which the χάρτης was manufactured, cfr. E. M. THOMPSON, Handbook of Greek and Latin Palæography, p 30, sq.

[3] "Herodotus, our most ancient authority for any details of the purposes for which the papyrus-plant was employed, always calls it βυβλος" (hence the Greek word βιβλία) (THOMPSON, ibid, p. 27).

[4] KENYON, op. cit., p. 94.

Intimately connected with this change in the writing material, was the adoption of a new form for the MSS. of the New Testament. The considerable expense entailed by copying on parchment, such extensive works as the Gospels, the Acts and the Epistles, suggested naturally that the text should be written on both sides of the vellum, and this, in turn, led to the practical giving up of the roll-form hitherto employed. The old method of fastening together waxen tablets which bore a script, into a *Caudex* or *Codex*, was now resorted to for binding together the leaves of parchment, and as the book-form was adopted from the waxen tablets, so was also the name of *Codex* taken over to designate the parchment volumes.

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[1] THOMPSON, Handbook of Greek and Latin Palæography, p. 31.

[2] KENYON, Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts, p. 94.

The quires or gatherings of leaves, of which vellum codices were composed, consisted generally, in the earliest specimens, of four sheets folded to make eight leaves (*τετράς* or *τετράδιον*, quaternio), although occasionally *quinterniones*, or quires of five sheets (ten leaves) were adopted. It should also be noticed that the quires forming the volume had not necessarily the same number of leaves, and that as far as size is concerned, the *Codices* were mostly like our present quarto or small folio volumes. The advantages of the vellum codex over the papyrus rolls are obvious: its material is more durable, may be written upon on both sides, can more easily be re-written, and its form is more convenient for purposes of reference. Hence the Codex gradually, and apparently also rapidly, supplanted the roll in the transcription of the sacred books of the New Testament.

3. External Form of the Text. The script used for the early papyrus copies of the Apostolic writings, consisted in those "majuscules" or capital letters which, from their curved form, have received the name of *Uncials*.[1] While the ordinary capitals of the inscriptions are angular, because cut with the tool on hard substances, such as stone or metal, the *uncials*, on the contrary, appear with curves freely traced with the reed pen (the *κάλαμος* spoken of in III John, verse 13) on the smooth substance of the papyrus. For instance, the fifth letter of the Greek alphabet is E as an ordinary capital, and **Є** as an uncial letter, as we see in a fragmentary papyrus[2] lately found in Egypt and bearing the date of the seventh year of the Emperor Domitian, A.D. 88. This is also noticeable in the best preserved papyrus of the Iliad, known as the Bankes Homer, and going back to the second century of our era.[1] Its uncials present the exact forms which were to remain unchanged for many centuries, and which would naturally be employed for the sacred text of Scripture, as they had been for this choicest production of Greek literature. In point of fact, this is the kind of uncials which may be observed in our oldest vellum copies of Holy Writ, with this difference, however, that owing to the substitution of the parchment as writing material instead of the papyrus, the scribe had a firmer surface whereon to display his skill as a calligrapher, and evidently availed himself of it, for the letters of the earliest vellum MSS. are remarkable for their great beauty and firmness.

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[1] Cfr. E. M. THOMPSON, Handbook of Greek and Latin Palæography, p. 117.

[2] THOMPSON, ibid, p. 126, gives a fac-simile of the writing of this papyrus fragment.

Naturally enough, these beautiful uncial letters underwent different modifications as the copies were multiplied in the course of time, until the freer mode of writing (the *cursive*, as it is called), which had been already in use during centuries for ordinary purposes of transcription, was also adopted for copying the sacred text. This took place in the ninth or tenth century of our era, when, as we know from MSS. going back to that period and recently examined, scribes wrote part of their codices in uncials, and the rest in "minuscules," or cursive letters.[2] Once introduced, the cursive characters, because more easily traced, and taking up less room, became soon the accepted script for copies of Holy Writ, uncials being confined to MSS. particularly beautiful.

As already mentioned, the text, both in the papyrus rolls and in the early vellum copies of the New Testament, was distributed into narrow columns, which had the same number of letters in each line, except in places where the letters were made smaller at the end of a line, in order to accommodate words to the available space. Usually the words were written without separation between them, "and this practice continued as a rule down to about the ninth century. But, even when the scribes had begun to break up their lines into words, it still continued to be the fashion to attach short words, e.g., prepositions, to those which immediately followed them. It was hardly before the eleventh century that a perfect system of separately-written words was established in Latin MSS. In Greek MSS., it may be said that the system was at no time perfectly followed, for, even when the words were distinguished, there was always a tendency to separate them inaccurately."[1]

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[1] See the fac-simile of it, in THOMPSON, loc. cit., p. 127.

[2] Cfr. The Independent, New York, May 4, 1899, p. 1260; cfr., also, art. Palæography, in Encyclop. Britannica, 9th edit.

As the words of the text were not written separately in the columns of the papyrus rolls and early codices, there was plainly no room for what we now call "punctuation," understanding thereby a system of signs to mark out sentences and make clear the sense of the text. In point of fact, these ancient documents have no punctuation, except a mark used to distinguish the various paragraphs. In the papyrus rolls, this mark is sometimes a horizontal stroke, sometimes a wedge-shaped sign (>), sometimes a short blank space left in the line, etc. To save room in cases where the last line is a short one, and the paragraph is indicated by a blank space, the earliest specimens leave only a little break, and fill up the remainder of the line with the words of the next paragraph. In the early vellum MSS., the same plan is followed, with an additional full-point, however, in the space left to mark the pause, the full-point being placed on a level with either the top or the middle of the letters. When larger letters than the rest were introduced (they are found in the Alexandrinus of the fifth century) to mark the paragraphs, the letter to be enlarged in cases where the paragraph began in the middle of a line, was not the very first letter of the paragraph itself, but that of the next line, even though it might there occur in the middle of a word, and the larger letter was written in the margin in order not to affect the normal space between the lines.

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[1] THOMPSON, loc. cit., p. 65.

Beside the breaking of the text into paragraphs, the ancient biblical MSS. offer another division in connection with the Psalms, Proverbs, and other poetical writings. The lines (*στίχοι*, *versus*) of these books, instead of containing on an average from thirty-four to thirty-eight letters, according to the medium average line in the MSS. of Homer, have their length determined by the sense, and form short sentences which correspond generally to the poetical lines of the sacred writers. It is after this "stichometric" manner, as it is called, that St. Jerome wrote, first the books of "the Prophets," and afterwards all the sacred writings he rendered into Latin. It was introduced into the Greek MSS. of the Pauline and Catholic Epistles, and the Acts, only in the fifth century, by Euthalius, a learned deacon of Alexandria.

"The breathings and accents were not systematically employed in the Greek MSS. before the seventh century. Such as are found in isolated passages in the ancient papyri do not appear to have been written by the first hand, and most of them are probably of much later date. . . . Nor were they used in the early uncial manuscripts. The ancient codices of the Bible are devoid of them." [1]

The various details which have just been given about the external form of the MSS. and of the text of the New Testament, are of great importance to determine the relative antiquity of our extant Greek MSS. They belong to that branch of knowledge which is called *Palæography*, and which was treated for the first time in a systematic manner by the learned Benedictine, Dom Bernard DE MONTFAUCON, who published his masterly book entitled *Palæographia Græca* in 1708. The general rules he then laid down have not since been changed materially, but simply improved upon, by means of fuller sources of information.

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[1] E. M. Thompson, art. Palæography, in Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th edit.

A very few remarks in this connection will be sufficient here. (1) As uncial characters were employed down to the tenth or eleventh centuries, and cursive letters began to come into use as early as the ninth, it is not surprising to find that we have some cursive MSS. older than some uncials ; (2) In general, the more upright, square and simple the uncial characters are, the earlier is the writing ; narrow, oblong, leaning, elaborate letters came in later ; (3) The absence of letters larger than the rest is a sign of antiquity ; (4) The antiquity of copies is also ascertained by means of the scarcity or the total absence of breathings, accents and punctuation.[1]

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[1] For further information concerning Palæographic rules, see SCRIVENER, A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament (4th edit) ; GARDTHAUSEN, Griechische Palæographie, Leipsig, 1879.

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER XI.

History of the Text of the New Testament.

Section II. Transmission of the Original Text.

- I. First Period: (to the Fifth Century).
  - 1. Early and growing adulteration of copies.
  - 2. Extant manuscripts described.
  - 3. All important variations traceable to this period.

- II. Second Period: (to the Sixteenth Century).
  - 1. Principal uncial MSS. (palæographic differences from earlier copies).
  - 2. Cursive Manuscripts:
    - Number.
    - Palæographic details.
    - Text exhibited.

- III. Third Period: (the Printed Editions).
  - 1. The "Textus Receptus":
    - The first printed editions.
    - Exact value of the "Textus Receptus."
  - 2. Critical Editions:
    - First appearance in the eighteenth century.
    - Principal critical editions (authors and theories).
  - 3. Concluding Remarks.

CHAPTER XI.

HISTORY OF THE TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

SECTION II. TRANSMISSION OF THE ORIGINAL TEXT.

§ 1. *First Period (to the Fifth Century).*

1. **Early and Growing Adulteration of Copies.** The first period which we may distinguish in the history of the original text of the New Testament comprises the first four centuries of its transmission. It is surrounded with great obscurity, owing chiefly to our lack of reliable sources of information, and in consequence only a few of its features can now be realized.

The first of these features is connected with the fate which was undergone by the first copies of the sacred text. As we saw in the preceding chapter, no special sacredness could be attached to almost any one of them on the ground that they had been written by the very hand of the inspired writers. Their frail material, too, was little conducive to a long preservation of them, especially if freely handled by many copyists, or often used for public reading in the services of the Church. It is likewise probable that the firm hope entertained by the early Christians of a prompt return of Jesus would prevent them from setting such high value on any particular copy of the Apostolic writings, as would make them anxious for its perpetual preservation. In view of these, and other such circumstances, which attended the publication of the sacred writings of the New Testament, it is only natural to expect that the first copies which were made of them should soon perish without leaving any trace in early history. In point of fact, writers living very near the time of the Apostles, never appeal to these primitive copies.[1]

A second, and indeed most important feature of this first period in the history of the text of the New Testament, regards the manner in which the words of the sacred writings were copied, in the first centuries of the Church. Had the early transcribers been ever so careful to reproduce exactly the text before them, it is beyond doubt that, owing to their limited power of attention, errors similar to those of which we have abundant proofs in subsequent ages would have crept into their transcripts. Despite all their care, errors of the eye which misreads, of the pen which misspells, of the memory which remembers incorrectly, etc., would have certainly been found in their copies when submitted to the revisers, who also could hardly be relied upon to remove all the defects without exception. Again, in addition to inherited deviations from the primitive copies, each fresh transcript would naturally contain fresh errors, to be transmitted in like manner to its own descendants.

In reality, the early transcribers and correctors did not perform their important work with all the care they might have bestowed upon the transcription of the Holy Scriptures. Professional scribes were apparently more concerned about producing numerous than absolutely correct copies, the more so because MSS. for private use hardly ever, if ever, underwent a revision beyond the comparison which the scribe made himself of his own transcript with the exemplar at his disposal. A minute and careful study of the quotations made by the early Fathers of the Church, and of the most ancient versions of the New Testament, leads to the conclusion that even the official text of particular churches had suffered much from the carelessness of transcribers.[1] It proves also that a large number of the deviations which may be traced back to this very early period in the history of the text of the New Testament were made *intentionally* to improve grammatically, theologically, or otherwise, what we know full well now was no mistake, but the exact primitive reading. Nor is this a simple inference from data more or less reliable: it is a conclusion distinctly borne out by the testimony of so early and so well-informed a scholar as Origen (185?–254), who, in his commentary on St. Matthew,[2] speaks as follows: "It might appear wrong" (he is speaking of Matt. xix, 19: *ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον*) "to assert that these words are interpolated here, were it not that there is such a difference in many other places between the copies of the Gospels, that neither those of Matthew, nor those of the other Evangelists agree together. . . : The difference in MSS. has now become really great, both from the carelessness of the copyists and also from the arbitrary conduct of those to whom is entrusted the correction of the copies; and further from emendations, additions, and omissions, made by many according to their own judgment."

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[1] The passages of St. Ignatius, Tertullian formerly quoted as proving the reverse, have no reference to the original copies of the New Testament writings (cfr. TROCHON, Introduction Générale, p. 300, sq. ; S. DAVIDSON, A Treatise on Biblical Criticism, vol. ii, p. 40 sq.).

It will be noticed that in his enumeration of the various sources of textual corruption, Origen does not include the perverse influence of such early heretics as Marcion, Theodotus, Apollonius, etc., whose daring work in corrupting Holy Writ is so loudly denounced by the Roman priest,

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[1] For details in connection with this difficult point of Textual Criticism, cfr. HUG, Introduction to the New Testament, p. 85, sqq. (Engl. Transl., Andover, 1836); S. DAVIDSON, A Treatise on Textual Criticism, vol. ii, p. 53, sqq.

[2] The Greek passage of Origen is given in HUG's Introduction, p 87, and DAVIDSON's Textual Criticism, p. 62.

Caius (fl. end of the second century),[1] and the holy Bishop of Lyons, Irenæus († ab. 200).[2] The reason of the silence of Origen is simply this. Duly warned by their priests and bishops against the adulterated copies which heretics scattered broadcast, the faithful children of the Church succeeded generally in keeping their own MSS. free from alterations due to the hateful influence of heresy. But, while they thus suspected and rejected every corruption of the text that might come from outside the Church, both the flock and the pastors were not, to the same extent, on their guard against the various textual errors which circulated in copies of Catholics. It is only natural therefore to find that Origen does not reckon the influence of early heretics among the various sources of the many differences which existed in the Greek MSS. of his time. It is only natural also to hear him denounce "the carelessness of transcribers, the caprice of those who undertook the revision or correction of copies, and the meddling of critics who ventured upon improvements according to their own judgment and so added or omitted,"[3] for these were the very sources which had produced and gradually multiplied textual variations in the copies of Catholics.

Of course it is impossible at the present day to give a very definite idea of the number and gravity of the differences existing between MSS. at the time of Origen, say between 200 and 250 A. D. But it is beyond doubt that, as early as the third century, textual variations were such as to call for a remedy, by means of critical revisions or *Recensions*, as they are now called, of the Greek Text. Of such recensions, three are usually admitted by modern scholars, viz., the first by Origen; the second by the Antiochian presbyter, Lucian;

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[1] Cfr. EUSEBIUS, Ecclesiast. History, Book v, chap. xxviii.

[2] Cfr. IRENÆUS, Ag. Heresies, Book i, chap. xxvii.

[3] S. DAVIDSON, loc. cit., p. 62.

and the third by an Egyptian bishop, named Hesychius; but we have solid historical ground only in favor of the last two revisions, whose existence is implied in a letter of St. Jerome to Pope St. Damasus I († 384).[1] The exact character and extent of influence of these critical labors are unknown to us. It is commonly thought, however, that these recensions checked for the time being the rapidity with which alterations had hitherto been introduced, because they furnished standard copies, to which MSS. written within this or that particular district naturally conformed.

A last feature to be mentioned here concerning the first period in the transmission of the Greek Text regards the total disappearance of the numerous copies written before the middle of the fourth century. While we possess fragments of papyrus rolls of the classics, and going back to even an earlier period,[2] we have absolutely nothing of the MSS. of the New Testament of the first three centuries, although many of these must have been made of parchment. This entire disappearance of the New Testament MSS. was due to a variety of general causes, three of which can still be pointed out. There was, first of all, their constant use in public and in private, which entailed a wear and tear, not undergone to anything like the same extent by the MSS. even of Homer, the best and most widely read poet of Greece. There was, in the second place, the edict issued by Diocletian in 303, ordering that all the sacred books of the Christians should be burned,[3] and in consequence of which numberless copies must have been destroyed by the

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[1] Cfr. Migne, Pat. Lat., vol. xxix, col. 527.

[2] The principal of these fragments are those of the "Phædo" of Plato, and of the "Antiope" of Euripides, which go back to the third century B. C. Other fragmentary papyri of the second and first centuries B. C. are also referred to in E. M. Thompson, Handbook of Greek and Latin Palæography, pp. 119–125.

[3] The original edict which ordered that "the churches should be razed to the ground, and the Sacred Scriptures consumed by fire," is unhappily lost. Cfr. Eusebius, Eccl. Hist., Book viii, chap. ii.

Roman officials. Finally, the comparatively few MSS. which survived the rage of the persecutors were easily allowed to perish when replaced by those "more accurate" copies, of which Eusebius and others after him speak repeatedly,[1] and which soon spread far and wide after the conversion of Constantine the Great.

2. Extant Manuscripts Described. It is difficult to say whether our two oldest Codices, named the *Vaticanus* and the *Sinaiticus*, should be reckoned among the "most correct" copies of the Greek Text of the New Testament, but there is hardly any doubt that they go back to the fourth century.

The older of the two is to all appearance the *Vaticanus*, so called from the great Vatican library at Rome, into which it was probably brought shortly after its establishment by Pope Nicholas V († 1455). It is a quarto volume, arranged in quires of five sheets (or ten leaves each), and consisting at present of 759 leaves of fine thin vellum, 142 of which are devoted to the New Testament.[2] Each page (10 inches by 10½) is written in comparatively small but clear and neat uncial letters, and has three columns usually of 42 lines each. Each line contains from 16 to 18 letters, with no initial letter larger than the rest. The accents and breathings which appear throughout the Codex have been added by a later hand than the original scribe; but some of its punctuation marks are probably due to him. "The writer's plan was to proceed regularly with a book until it was finished; then to break off from the column he was writing and to begin the next book on the very next column. Thus, only *one* column perfectly blank is found in the whole New Testament, that which follows *ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ* in Mark xvi, 8; . . . by leaving such a space the scribe has intimated that he was fully aware of the existence of the last twelve verses of Mark's Gospel, or even found them in the copy from which he wrote."[1] The passage regarding the woman taken in adultery (John vii, 53–viii, 11), is omitted without any gap or sign of omission. The scribe has at times performed his work with great carelessness, as is evidenced by the fact that he has repeatedly written words and clauses twice over and omitted oftener still[2] lines and clauses through what is called *Homoioteleuton.*[3]

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[1] The expressions of Eusebius and subsequent writers are quoted by P. MARTIN, Introduction à la Critique Textuelle du Nouveau Testament, tom. 2, pp. 80, 147, 173, 207.

[2] Originally the Vaticanus MS. was a complete Greek copy of the Bible. The first forty-six chapters of Genesis (the MS. begins at πόλιν, Gen. xlvi, 28), the Ps. cv, 27–cxxxvii, 6, and the books of the Machabees, are now wanting in the Old Testament. The New Testament begins on page 618 and breaks off at page 759, in the middle of the word καθαριεῖ (Heb. ix, 14): the rest of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Pastoral Epistles, the Epistle to Philemon and the Apocalypse are now missing.

The Vaticanus Codex and its readings are usually referred to in critical apparatus by means of the capital letter *B.* A photographic *fac-simile* edition of it has appeared in Rome in 1889, under the care of Cozza-Luzi (*Novum Testamentum e Codice Vaticano, 1209,* etc.), so that all textual critics can now examine for themselves all the readings and characteristics of this celebrated manuscript.

The second MS. almost universally ascribed to the fourth century[4] is the Codex *Sinaiticus,* usually denoted by the letter ℵ. It is thus named from the monastery of Mount Sinai, where it was discovered by C. Tischendorf († 1874) under the following circumstances. In 1844, this celebrated Leipsig professor, travelling under the patronage of his own sovereign, King Frederick Augustus of Saxony, and being at the convent of St. Catherine, on Mount Sinai, picked out of a basket full of papers intended for the stove forty-three leaves of a very ancient MS., which he obtained for the asking, and published at his return to Europe under the name of the Codex Friderico-Augustanus. The rest he secured only in 1859, when he went for the third time to the East, under the patronage of Alexander II, the Emperor of Russia. To that monarch's wise munificence we owe the publication at St. Petersburg of this venerable MS. by typographic imitation from types especially cast, in four folio volumes (*Bibliorum Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus . . . edidit Constantinus Tischendorf. Petropoli, 1862*).

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[1] F. H. Scrivener, A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament, vol. i, p. 108.

[2] Cfr. P. Martin, Introduction à la Critique Textuelle du Nouveau Testament, tom. i, p. 394 (4th edition).

[3] Omissions through Ὁμοιοτέλευτον or the ending of two lines with the same word or syllable at a short interval occurred in this way: the copyist having written that word or syllable once, and looking again at the MS. before him, caught sight of the same word or syllable *in its second occurrence,* and thus overlooked the intervening words or lines.

[4] E. M. Thompson, Handbook of Greek and Latin Palæography, places it "early in the fifth century."

The Codex Sinaiticus is 13½ inches by 14⅞, and consists of 388½ leaves (the 43 pages of the Friderico-Augustanus included), 242 of which contain portions of the Old Testament, and 147½ the whole New Testament, the Epistle of Barnabas, and a large fragment of the Pastor of Hermas. It is written on very fine vellum, with four columns in a page, so that the open book presents eight columns in sequence, and thus recalls the line of columns on a papyrus roll. Like the Codex B, it is without enlarged letters; but the initial letter of a line beginning a sentence is usually placed slightly in the margin. As in the Vaticanus also, there are no spaces between the words, no breathings, no accents, only few marks of punctuation, but part of a line is often left blank at the end of a sentence. The writing resembles closely that of the Vaticanus, yet it is a little larger; it is in plain, square uncials, the width being generally equal to the height. "From the number of *ὁμοιοτέλευτα* and other errors it contains, one cannot affirm that it is very carefully written. . . . The grammatical forms commonly termed Alexandrian occur pretty much as in other MSS. of the earliest date. The whole MS. is disfigured by corrections, a few by the original scribe, or by the usual comparer or διορθώτης; very many by an ancient and elegant hand of the sixth century, whose emendations are of great importance."[1]

The last twelve verses of St. Mark (xvi, 9–20) are wanting; but as in the Vaticanus, the scribe appears to be conscious of an omission; for the last line of verse 8, which contains only five letters, has the rest of the space filled up with a flourish, such as nowhere else marks the end of a book. The section concerning the woman taken in adultery is wanting absolutely in the same manner as in Codex B.

It is not improbable that the scribe of the Vaticanus MS. was one of the two scribes who were engaged in carrying out the transcription of the New Testament in Codex ℵ.[2]

3. All Important Variations traceable to this Early Period. Beside these two venerable copies of the Greek Text written during the first period of its transmission, there are other sources of information by means of which recent critics have endeavored to realize better the condition of the sacred text during the first four centuries of our era. Foremost among these sources we may mention here the writings of Origen († 254), of Eusebius of Cæsarea († 340), of St. Jerome († 420), together with the ancient Latin and Syriac versions of the New Testament. The data thus supplied have led biblical scholars to widely different conclusions (which will be mentioned more distinctly later), regarding the true value of Codices B and ℵ, the influence of Origen upon the transmission of the original Text of the New Testament, the exact date of the Peshitto or Syriac Version, etc.[3] But they have conclusively proved that all the variations of real importance (historical, dogmatic, exegetical, etc.) connected with the Greek Text, are directly or indirectly traceable to this early period. This is the case, as we saw already, with the omission of the last twelve verses of our second Gospel, of the section concerning the woman taken in adultery. This is also the case with the passage on the periodical descent of the angel of the Lord, troubling the pool of Bethesda, for the healing of the sick, in John v, 3, 4; on the baptismal confession of the eunuch, in Acts viii, 37; and with other passages, such as John i, 28; Rom. ix, 5; 1 Tim. iii, 16; 1 John v, 7, 8; etc.[1]

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[1] Scrivener, loc. cit., p. 93.

[2] Cfr. Hammond, Outlines of Textual Criticism Applied to the New Testament, p. 45, sqq.

[3] Cfr. P. Martin, Introduction à la Critique Textuelle du Nouveau Testament, partie pratique, tom. I.

§ 2. *Second Period* (*to the Sixteenth Century*).

1. Principal Uncial MSS. The second period in the transmission of the original Text of the New Testament, extends from the fifth to the sixteenth century, and includes upwards of 100 uncial MSS., many of which are mere fragments. Even the earliest of these uncials, called the Codex *Alexandrinus* (A) from Alexandria, its place of origin, exhibits marked palæographic differences from the earlier copies described above. For instance, it has enlarged letters to mark the beginning of paragraphs; the initial standing in the margin at the beginning of the first *full* line. The writing is more carefully finished than that of the earlier MSS.; the letters are rather wide; horizontal strokes are very fine; and there is a general tendency to thicken or club the extremities of certain letters, as Γ, Τ, Є, and Ϲ.[2] At the end of each book there are neat and unique ornaments in the ink of the transcriber himself. For these and other reasons,[1] the Alexandrinus MS. is considered as later in date than either the Vaticanus or the Sinaiticus, and is generally referred to the beginning or middle of the fifth century. It contains the Old and the New Testaments almost complete, and is considered of first-rate importance in Textual Criticism. There is a fine specimen of one of its pages in VIGOUROUX, Dictionnaire de la Bible.

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[1] For critical details in reference to these passages, see Scrivener, Hammond, S. Davidson, and Commentators on the books to which they respectively belong.

[2] Cfr. E. M. Thompson, loc. cit., p. 152.

Hardly less important, though much less complete, is the Codex *Ephræmi* (C), in the national library of Paris. It is a *palimpsest* MS., that is, one from which the first writing had been rubbed off in order to render the leaves able to receive fresh writing, and it is called Codex *Ephræmi*, from the fact that after the erasing of the words of the Old and New Testaments, works of St. Ephrem had been written on its leaves. Through a chemical process, however, the primitive writing, which had been but imperfectly effaced, has been made to reappear.[2] In many palæographical details it resembles closely the Codex Alexandrinus, although its writing is somewhat smaller and a little more elaborate. Instead of two columns on a page, as in the Codex A, it has but one column of long lines on a page, but there is the same absence of accents or breathings, the same simple punctuation, the same sort of initial enlarged letters and the same short subscriptions to the books. It is generally ascribed to the fifth century.

Next in importance and in antiquity are the Codex *Bezæ* (D 1) and the Codex *Claromontanus* (D 2), both of the sixth century. These are *bilingual* MSS., the Greek Text being placed on the left hand of the opening, and the Latin translation on the right. The former MS., now found in the University Library at Cambridge (England), was bestowed upon this great seat of learning in 1581, by the famous French Calvinist, Theodore Beza, who had got it out of the plunder of the convent of St. Irenæus, in Lyons. It is a quarto volume, ten inches high and eight broad, with one column on a page, and thirty-three lines in every page. The initial letters are not larger than the rest, but stand out a little from the line, as in Codex א. The letters are of the same size as in the Codex Ephræmi, and the words are not separated, except in the titles and subscriptions of the several books. This MS. contains only portions of the Gospels, and the Acts, and is especially remarkable for its numerous and extensive interpolations, some of which are countenanced by the old Latin Version anterior to our Vulgate, and by the old Syriac Version published by Dr. Cureton, in 1858. "Apart from these interpolations, D 1 presents a very valuable text, akin in its readings to that of the Alexandrine type."[1] The second Græco-Latin MS., the Codex *Claromontanus*, is found in the National Library, at Paris. It contains the Epistles of St. Paul, with the exception of only a few verses. The Latin translation represents a text anterior to St. Jerome, but very considerably altered from its primitive form to bring it into closer conformity with the corresponding Greek Text.

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[1] Among these other reasons may be mentioned the division of the Gospels into Ammonian sections, and the presence of the references to the canons of Eusebius written prominently in the margin. Concerning these various divisions, cfr. F. H. SCRIVENER, op. cit., vol i, chap. iii. On the other hand, "the presence of the two Epistles of St. Clement, the shortness of the subscriptions, and the absence of the Euthalian divisions of the Acts and Epistles, would all point to a date not later than the middle of the fifth century" (Hammond, Outlines of Textual Criticism, p. 131).

[2] Cfr. the fac-simile in VIGOUROUX, Dictionnaire de la Bible.

The gradual decadence of round uncial hand during and after the sixth century, is well described in E. M. THOMPSON, Handbook of Greek and Latin Palæography, p. 152, sqq.; and the contents of the secondary uncial MSS., together with their leading palæographic features, will be found in F. H. SCRIVENER, A Plain Introduction to the

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[1] HAMMOND, op. cit., p. 133.

Textual Criticism of the New Testament, vol. i, chaps. v and vi.

2. Cursive Manuscripts. Incomparably more numerous than the Uncial Codices, because more recent in date, and more easily multiplied, are the *Cursive* Manuscripts, which were written between the ninth and the middle of the fifteenth century, when the invention of the art of printing substituted a much easier and cheaper mode of producing books. A few, however, were written in the sixteenth century. Their total number exceeds 3,550, about thirty of which are either complete or nearly so. Dr. Gregory, in the second part of his *Prolegomena*, gives the following account of the extant cursive MSS.:

Gospels, ...	1,273
Acts and Catholic Epistles, . . .	416
St. Paul's Epistles, ...	480
Apocalypse, ...	183
Lectionaries { Gospels, 936 Apostles, 265 } . .	1,201
	3,553

Whence it appears that after the MSS. which exhibit the continuous text of the Gospels, those are most numerous which contain the disjointed extracts from the Gospels (they are also called *Evangelistaria*), and from the Acts and Epistles (they are also called *Praxapostoli*), to be read in public services, and which, for this reason, are known under the general name of *Lectionaries*.

While the Uncial Codices are designated by the capital letters usually of the Latin and of the Greek alphabets, the cursive MSS. are indicated by Arabic numerals. They are written in current hand, on vellum or parchment, or on cotton paper which came into use in the ninth and tenth centuries, or finally on linen paper, which was employed first in the twelfth century. Uncial writing continued, however, in the transcription of Lectionaries, some time after it had ceased to be used for ordinary copies. Some of the cursives are richly illuminated ; almost all abound in abbreviations and contractions. Naturally enough, the cursive style of writing, when practically a new one for literary purposes, was traced with considerable care by the scribes ; but it gradually degenerated, and only in liturgical MSS. did custom react to some extent, and thus serve to retard the disuse of the stiffer forms of older times.[1]

Many cursive MSS. have been studied by recent critics, and it is highly probable that further work in that direction will not alter materially the general conclusions which have been reached regarding the text which they exhibit. Some twenty or thirty among them (MSS. 13, 17, 33, 61, for instance) have considerable importance in the eyes of critics because of their agreement with the oldest uncial authorities. But by far the great majority of the cursives contain a comparatively late text, which is now known as the *Syrian* Text, and was apparently used by St. John Chrysostom († 407) and other ecclesiastical writers in the second part of the fourth century.[2]

§ 3. *Third Period* (*the Printed Editions*).

1. The "Textus Receptus." The Greek New Testament was not printed in full before the beginning of the sixteenth century. The first complete edition was that prepared at Alcala de Henares, in Spain, under the direction and at the expense of Cardinal XIMENES. It forms the fifth volume of the magnificent Polyglot edition published by the Spanish Cardinal,[1] and called from the Latin name of the place, *The Complutensian* (from *Complutum*). The New Testament was completed in January 10, 1514, but did not appear till 1522, five years after the death of Ximenes. The particular MSS. from which the Complutensian Text is drawn are not specified by its editors, except in the vague and exaggerated terms "antiquissima et emendatissima;" but it is certain that they all contained a text of comparatively late origin.

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[1] For details, cfr. E. M. THOMPSON, op. cit., chap. xii.

[2] Cfr. WESTCOTT and HORT, Introduction to the New Testament in the Original Greek, Part iii, Sections ii and iii ; etc.

While Ximenes' edition was being prepared, John Froben, a printer of Basle, hearing of the Cardinal's design, and desirous to anticipate it, asked the celebrated Hellenist, ERASMUS († 1536), to prepare an edition that would be the first published. The work, done in great haste, appeared in 1516. It was carried out with little criticism on the basis of only four cursive MSS., contained several minor interpolations derived directly from the Latin Vulgate, and in particular a passage of the Apocalypse xxii, 15-26, which Erasmus had boldly re-translated from the Latin, because his Greek MS. was defective. Of the subsequent editions of Erasmus, the fourth one (in 1527) corrected by the Complutensian Text, is of special importance, inasmuch as it became the basis of the "Textus Receptus."

It was with the help of the fourth and fifth editions of Erasmus and of some 15 MSS., that Robert STEPHENS published his four editions of the Greek New Testament (1546, 1549, 1550, 1551). The third of these, known as the *Editio Regia*, was in fact, a little more than a reprint of the fourth edition of Erasmus. Stephens' fourth edition contains exactly the same text as his third, with this peculiarity, however, that it is the first printed text divided into our modern *verses*.

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[1] For an elaborate description of this magnificent work, cfr. HEFELE, Card. Ximenes, chap. xi.

Theodore Beza prepared and published four folio editions of Stephens' Greek Text, with occasionally a few changes on MS. authority (1565, 1582, 1589, 1598). It was practically also the text of Stephens, that the brothers Bonaventure and Abraham Elzevir, enterprising publishers of Leyden, in Holland, brought out in their neatly gotten-up and handy editions of the Greek Testament. Their first edition had met with such success, that in their second edition in 1633, they boldly said in their preface to the reader: "*Textum*, ergo habes, *ab omnibus receptum;*" whence arose the title "*Textus Receptus*," as applied to the text of the Greek New Testament in common use during the following centuries.[1]

The more one inquires into the history of this so-called "Textus Receptus," the less is it possible to ascribe to it much critical value. It is certain that only a few recent MSS. were utilized in its formation, and that their various readings were mostly placed in the margin, instead of being used in constructing the text. Again, when these various readings were used to form the text, they were employed on no fixed principles, and without anything like a correct appreciation of their relative antiquity and value. The earliest editors were apparently satisfied with publishing the first text which came to hand; and those who followed them too often did little more than to make choice from among the existing printed readings. The work of these pioneers should not, however, be judged severely. It naturally bears the impress of the time when Textual Criticism was in its infancy, that is of a period when materials could not as yet have been gathered in sufficient quantity, and when the lack of proper methods prevented scholars from turning to the best advantage even the materials placed at their disposal.

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[1] For further information, see S. P. Tregelles, An Account of the Printed Text of the New Testament, pp. 1-36; Chauvin, Leçons d'Introduction Générale, pp. 272-277; F. H. Scrivener, A Plain Introduction, etc., vol. ii, chap. vii; Reuss, History of the Sacred Scriptures of the New Testament, vol. ii, pp. 406-423 (Engl. Transl.).

It also betrays a haste and lack of care which, to us, seem little in harmony with the reverence due to the Word of God. On the other hand, had the early editors meddled more than they did with the text before them, it is beyond doubt that their lack of information and skill would have led them to publish an edition much inferior to the "Textus Receptus." In simply bringing forth the text within their reach, they printed the New Testament pretty much as it had been transmitted for centuries in the Greek Church, and consequently in a form which presents the substance of the original with great faithfulness. Nay more, recent critics who cannot in any way be accused of bias in favor of the "Textus Receptus," grant that a very large number of its peculiar readings can be traced back to the second part of the fourth century, that is, to the very period to which our oldest uncial MSS. are generally referred.[1]

2. The Critical Editions. Whatever may be thought of the exact value of the "Textus Receptus," there is no doubt that ever since its publication it has played the greatest part in the transmission of the original Greek of the New Testament. During the second part of the seventeenth century, leading critics, such as WALTON, COURCELLES, FELL, held it in so great estimation that they never thought of improving it, by the introduction of any of the numerous readings which they published together with it.[2] The first to undermine, but not to shake, its authority, was John MILL, whose Greek Testament (printed in 1707) is based on the text of Stephens of 1550, and presents a large critical apparatus of about 30,000 various readings. Surprised and somewhat disturbed by this hitherto unsuspected number of variations, BENGEL, the celebrated author of the *Gnomon Novi Testamenti*, resolved to examine what could be the real bearing of so many different readings upon the data of the Christian faith. After years of study, he came to the conclusion that all these variations left intact the great doctrines of Christendom, and published (in 1734) what may be considered as the earliest "critical" edition of the Greek New Testament. His text embodies numerous intentional departures from the received type, and most of his changes have been approved by later critics. It is to Bengel also that we owe the first attempt at distributing the documents into "companies, families, tribes, and nations," according to the degree of affinity which he noticed between certain MS. versions and ecclesiastical writers. This theory of *families* or *recensions* was further elaborated by GRIESBACH († 1812), who classified the materials under three recensions, which he called the Western, the Alexandrian, and the Constantinopolitan, because he believed that the origin of these three distinct texts could be traced back to Rome, Alexandria, and Constantinople. Griesbach's text, generally made according to sound principles of criticism, has been the basis of many manual editions of Schott, Knapp, Tittmann, Hahn, and Theile.

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[1] Cfr. WESTCOTT and HORT, The New Testament in the Original Greek, vol. ii.

[2] The work of Walton, published in 1657, forms the 5th and 6th vols. of the London Polyglot, and deserves special notice. The 5th volume contains the readings of the Codex *Alexandrinus* at the foot of the "Textus Receptus," while the 6th volume is made up of a large collection of various readings (cfr. SCRIVENER, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 197, sq.).

"A new era in Textual Criticism began in 1831, when, for the first time, a text was constructed directly from the ancient documents without the intervention of any printed edition, and when the first systematic attempt was made to substitute scientific method for arbitrary choice in the discrimination of various readings."[1] In both respects, the editor, Carl LACHMANN († 1851), was the worthy predecessor of the great critics of the latter part of the nineteenth century, of Tischendorf, Tregelles, Alford, Westcott and Hort. His object was "to restore the oldest obtainable text, i.e., the text of the fourth century, yet not as a *final* text, but simply as a sure *historical basis* for further operations of internal criticism, which might lead us in some cases still nearer to the primitive text."[1] In reality, when he issued his large edition, the Codex *Sinaiticus* had not yet been discovered, and the Codex *Vaticanus* and other uncials had not been critically edited; so that his ambition of giving to the world the *textus traditus* of the fourth century could hardly be realized. His chief authority was the Codex *Vaticanus*.

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[1] WESTCOTT and HORT, Greek Test., vol. ii, p. 13.

Far more enterprising than Lachmann, Constantin von TISCHENDORF (1815–1874), aimed at publishing not only the oldest, but also the best, text, with the aid of all authorities. For this purpose he spared neither time, nor journeys, nor editions, till he brought out his masterly *Novum Testamentum Græce*, etc., *Lipsiæ, edit. octava*," completed in 1872, 2 vols., with a full critical apparatus.[2] "This is beyond question the most full and comprehensive edition of the Greek Testament existing; it contains the results of the latest collations and discoveries, and as copious a body of various readings as is compatible with the design of adapting it for general use, though Tischendorf's notes are not sufficiently minute as regards the cursive MSS. to supersede the need of perpetually consulting the labors of preceding critics."[3] In this great critical edition, Tischendorf is somewhat biased by the readings of the Codex *Sinaiticus*, which, as already stated, he had discovered during his Eastern journeys. It must also be added, that his work is far from being complete as regards the versions and quotations, which he had probably no time to examine in anything like the prolonged and painstaking manner in which he collated the great uncial MSS.

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[1] Philip SCHAFF, A Companion to the Greek Text and the English Version, 4th edit. p. 255.

[2] A smaller edition in one vol. gives the same text with the principal readings. The best manual edition of Tischendorf's Text, with the readings of subsequent editors, (Tregelles, Westcott and Hort), is by Oscar von GEBHARDT (Leipsig, 1881).

[3] SCRIVENER, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 235. The *Prolegomena* to the 8th edition of Tischendorf, were written by two American scholars, Prof. GREGORY of Leipsig, and Dr. Ezra ABBOT of Cambridge (Mass.).

Contemporary with Tischendorf was Samuel Prideaux TREGELLES (1813–1875), who did not think that he could venture on the publication of the only edition of the New Testament which we possess from him, before he had spent twenty years in its preparation. He also resorted to "ancient authorities" alone in the construction of his revised text, and refused not only to the "Textus Receptus," but even to the great mass of MSS., all voice in determining the true readings. In fact, as Tischendorf had been biased by the Sinaiticus, so was he by the Codex *Vaticanus;* and this detracts considerably from the value of his edition. It should be noticed that by collating many of the principal uncial MSS. independently of Tischendorf, Tregelles "has afforded the learned world the unspeakable advantage of two independent witnesses."[1]

It was on these two great editors that Dean Henry ALFORD (1810–1871), depended for his critical materials in his *Greek Testament.* "All he desired to do was to form a critical text from the materials supplied by other investigators. Times, alas! were not ripe for such a text, for principles of criticism are just the great desiderata; and Alford also errs by unwarrantable reliance on a few of the oldest uncials."[2]

The last critical edition to be mentioned here is that of WESTCOTT and HORT, published in two volumes in 1881. The first volume contains the text adopted by the learned editors after twenty-eight years of labor; the second, a critical Introduction and Appendix, in which they expose and justify their theories. Their aim is to reproduce the *autograph* text, that is, "the original words of the New Testament so far as they now can be determined from surviving documents." For this purpose they rely exclusively on the documentary evidence which they find embodied in the great editions of Tischendorf and Tregelles, and which they distribute into four types of text:

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[1] A. CAVE, An Introduction to Theology, 2d edit., p. 290.

[2] A. CAVE, ibid.

(1) The *Syrian*, or *Antiochian*, matured by the Greek and Syrian Fathers in the latter part of the fourth century, and found in the Codex Alexandrinus (in the Gospels), in the Syriac Peshitto, in St. John Chrysostom († 407), in the later Greek Fathers, in the great mass of the cursive MSS., and practically also in the "Textus Receptus." As it is the result of two authoritative recensions made between 250 and 350 A. D. by men desirous to combine and harmonize pre-existing texts, "it presents the New Testament in a form smooth and attractive, but appreciably impoverished in sense and force, more fitted for cursory perusal, or recitation, than for repeated and diligent study."[1] The distinctively Syrian readings must at once be rejected, and give way to the "Pre-Syrian" readings, of which they are an altered form.

(2) The *Western Text*, most easily recognized in the old Latin Version, and in the few extant bilingual uncials (D 1, D 2) written in Italy and Gaul, as also in the writings of the ante-Nicene Fathers not connected with Alexandria (Justin, Irenæus, Hippolytus, Methodius, and even Eusebius). Its leading characteristics are a love of paraphrase, and a disposition to enrich the text by parallel passages in the Gospel and additions from traditional sources.[2]

(3) The *Alexandrian*, or *Egyptian Text*, found in the abundant quotations of Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Dionysius, Didymus, Cyril of Alexandria, and partly also, of Eusebius of Cæsarea, and in the Egyptian versions (especially

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[1] WESTCOTT and HORT, The New Testament in the Original Greek, vol. ii, p. 135.

[2] WESTCOTT and HORT, ibid, pp. 122–126.

the Memphitic). This text "cannot be later in date than the opening years of the third century, and may possibly be much earlier." It is characterized by "the absence of extraneous matter," and by "a delicate philological tact" in changes of language. "We often find the Alexandrian group opposed to all other documents, often the Alexandrian and Syrian groups combined in opposition to the others, implying an adoption of an Alexandrian reading by the Syrian Text." [1]

(4) The *Neutral Text*, so called because looked upon as "free from the glaring corruption of the Western, from the smooth assimilations of the Syrian, and from the grammatical purism of the Alexandrian type." Only two documents come under this last head, Codd. B and א, and of these two, when they differ, B is preferable to א, which has a not inconsiderable Western element; besides that the scribe's bold and rough manner has rendered "all the ordinary lapses due to rapid and careless transcription more numerous than in B." [2] Yet with certain light exceptions, which are carefully specified, it is our learned authors' belief "(1) that the readings of א B should be accepted as the true readings until strong internal evidence is found to the contrary, and (2) that no readings of א B can safely be rejected absolutely, though it is sometimes right to place them only on an alternative footing, especially where they receive no support from versions and Fathers;" [3] and this, their pre-eminence, in our critics' judgment, "is due to the extreme, and, as it were, primordial antiquity of the common original from which the ancestries of the two MSS. have diverged, the date of which cannot be later than the earlier part of the second century, and may well be yet earlier." [4]

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[1] WESTCOTT and HORT, The New Testament in the Original Greek, vol. ii, pp. 132–133.

[2] WESTCOTT and HORT, vol. ii, p. 246.

[3] Ibid, p. 225.

[4] WESTCOTT and HORT, ibid, p. 223; SCRIVENER, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 289.

It is in accordance with this classification of the sources, and on the basis of the practically supreme value of the two Codices א and B (more particularly of Codex B) that the text of Westcott and Hort has been elaborated. The erudition and skill displayed by these learned editors have won the admiration of critics at large; such prominent scholars, however, as F. H. Scrivener, J. P. Martin, Godet, etc., do not think that even this edition truly offers the oldest and purest text attainable at present. They point to the fact that the assumption by Westcott and Hort of a twofold and authoritative recension which would have been made by the Greek and Syrian Fathers between 250 and 350 A. D. is based upon a critical conjecture rather than on historical evidence. They think also that the same editors have too readily taken it for granted that the quotations of the Fathers and the testimony of the early versions have been fully examined and duly appreciated. Finally, they deprecate as unwarranted the supreme value which Westcott and Hort ascribe to the Codex Vaticanus, especially when associated with the Codex Sinaiticus.[1]

3. Concluding Remarks. Although very brief, our sketch of the history of the Greek New Testament leads us to the conclusion that critics have not yet secured a *final* text, that is, one which would commend itself as a faithful transcript of the primitive copies published by the sacred writers. The process of restoration is very complicated and difficult, and in all cases where the evidence is almost equally divided, it yields only probable results. Furthermore, while the Uncial Codices have been thoroughly examined, the cursive MSS., early versions and patristic citations require much more work than has been spent on them to allow their testimony its full weight in the construction of the sacred text.

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[1] For detailed criticism of the edition of Westcott and Hort, see Dean BURGON, The Revision Revised, article III, p. 235, sqq; and the more moderate remarks of SCRIVENER, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 291, sqq.

It is true that, with all the variations, the editions of Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles and Westcott and Hort present substantially one and the same text,[1] and that consequently a new "Textus Receptus" seems to have been formed. But it should be borne in mind that this agreement of the leading critics of the nineteenth century is due, to a large extent, to their overestimate of a few Uncial Codices, particularly of the Vaticanus and the Sinaiticus, to the detriment of nineteen-twentieths of the extant documents. There is therefore ample room for further work to secure the best attainable text, that is one which will be based on the impartial and scientific use of every single source of information.

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[1] They all agree in rejecting the authenticity of such important passages of the "Textus Receptus," as the last twelve verses of St. Mark; the section referring to the woman taken in adultery (John vii, 53–viii, 11); the two verses referring to the sweat of blood of Jesus (Luke xxii, 43, 44); the testimony of the heavenly witnesses in the first Epistle of St. John v, 7; etc.

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER XII.

Ancient Greek Versions of the Old Testament.

- I. The Septuagint Version:
  - 1. Its historical importance.
  - 2. Its origin:
    - What is legendary in testimonies concerning it.
    - What is commonly admitted (date, place of origin, authors).
  - 3. Its character:
    - Literary qualities.
    - Textual Features:
      - Differs considerably from our Hebrew Text.
      - Points to a Hebrew Text different from the Massoretic.
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  - 4. Subsequent history:
    - Rapid and wide circulation obtained by the LXX.
    - The labors of Origen, Lucian and Hesychius.
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  - 5. Recent efforts to recover the original text of the Septuagint.

- II. Other Greek Versions:
  - Aquila.
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SECOND DIVISION.

THE HISTORY OF THE PRINCIPAL VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE.

CHAPTER XII.

ANCIENT GREEK VERSIONS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

§ 1. *The Septuagint Version.*[1]

1. Its Historical Importance. The sacred writings of the old Testament have been transmitted to us not only in the original Hebrew, but also in other languages into which they were at several times translated. Foremost among these various translations ranks the old Greek Version of the Hebrew Bible, known as "*The Septuagint*."

It was the first translation of Holy Writ to come into existence,[2] and long before the Christian era it was substituted in the place of the original Hebrew in the public services of the Greek-speaking Jews dispersed throughout the world. It contributed powerfully to spread among the Gentiles the expectation of the coming Messias, and to introduce into the Greek language such theological words and ideas as would make of it a more fitting instrument for the diffusion of the

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[1] Much of what will be found in the following pages appeared already in The American Ecclesiastical Review, August, 1896, p. 152, sqq.

[2] Some scholars have supposed on the testimony of the Jewish philosopher Aristobulus (second century B. C.), that there was an earlier translation of "the Law;" this is now universally given up (cfr. BUHL, Canon and Text of the Old Testament, p. 108, sq., Engl. Transl.).

Gospel. Even in Palestine at the time of Our Lord, the Jewish rabbis recognized as legitimate the use of this Greek translation, and the Jewish priest and historian Josephus used it freely in his writings.

All this, however, was but the prelude of the wide influence and great authority which were to be acquired by the Septuagint in the Christian Church. To it, and not to the Hebrew Text, must be directly referred almost all the citations of the Old Testament which we notice in the inspired writings of the New. All the Fathers of the primitive Church depended entirely upon it for the knowledge they obtained and the use they made of the Scriptures of the old Covenant. Even when Latin translations appeared, they were made *directly* and *literally* from the Septuagint Version. Indeed, it may be said that, up to the middle of the sixth century, when the Latin translation, which St. Jerome had made directly from the original Hebrew, was everywhere adopted in the Western churches, the Septuagint remained *practically* —either *immediately*, or *mediately*, through the old Latin versions,—the translation of the Old Testament universally received in the Christian Church. So widespread in fact was its authority and so great the reverence shown it during that long period, that many Fathers, among whom are reckoned St. Justin[1] († about 167), St. Irenæus[2] († 202), St. Cyril of Jerusalem[3] († 386), St. Augustine[4] († 430), did not hesitate to ascribe to the Greek translators the positive help of *divine inspiration.*

These are most important facts, and they enable us to understand why this old version has remained down to the present day in the Greek Church, the standard text of the

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[1] Hortatory Address to the Greeks, chap. xiii. It must be said, however, that the genuineness of this work is still disputed.

[2] Against Heresies, Book iii, chap. xxi, §§ 2, 4.

[3] Catech. iv, chap. xxxiv.

[4] On the City of God, Book xviii, chap. xliii.

Old Testament entirely substituted in place of the original Hebrew; why, when selecting the Latin Vulgate as the official text of the Latin Church, the Council of Trent explicitly recognized the full authority of the Septuagint; why, in compliance with the wishes of many of the Fathers of Trent, Pope Sixtus V published an authentic edition of this same Greek Version; and why recent biblical scholars have devoted a large amount of time and labor to determine the exact relation in which the Septuagint stands to the Hebrew Text and to its principal translations.

2. Its Origin. But while the supreme historical importance of the Septuagint Version is patent to all, its origin is, on the contrary, surrounded with the greatest obscurity. The earliest document connected with its appearance is the legend which recounts the manner in which the translation of the Pentateuch originated. The King of Egypt, Ptolemy Philadelphus (B.C. 285–247), we are told, had recently established a library in Alexandria, his capital, and at the suggestion of his head librarian, Demetrius Phalereus, he determined to enrich it with a copy in Greek of the sacred writings of the Jews. Thereupon he was advised by one of his distinguished officers, Aristeas by name, to set free the thousands of Jewish slaves who were in the various parts of the kingdom, in order that he might thereby secure the good will and help of the Jewish authorities at Jerusalem to carry out his design. This he did with royal liberality; and a long procession of these freed men started for the holy city, bearing with them most costly presents for the Temple, together with a letter from the king, requesting Eleazar, the high priest, to send a copy of "the Law," and Jewish scholars capable of translating it.

In compliance with the request, Eleazar sends down to Egypt beautiful parchment manuscripts of the Pentateuch, written in golden letters, and six learned men out of each tribe, seventy-two in all,[1] to carry out the great work of the translation. During seven days the interpreters have audiences of the king, and excite the admiration of all by the wisdom with which they answer seventy-two questions, after which lodgings are assigned to them in the island of Pharos, away from the bustle of the capital. There they complete their work in seventy-two days, and it obtains the formal approval of the Jews of Alexandria. Finally, King Ptolemy receives the translation of "the Law" with great reverence, and sends the interpreters home, laden with rich gifts for themselves and for the high priest.

Such is the substance of a legend which has come down to us under the cover of a letter addressed by the above-named Aristeas to his brother Philocrates. Many of its particulars are evidently fantastic, and the glowing tribute of admiration which it pays to the Temple of Jerusalem, to the country of the Jews, to their wise and holy laws, in a word, to everything Jewish, points to a pious Jew, not to the pagan Aristeas, as its author. Nevertheless, the *Letter of Aristeas* was accepted without misgiving by Josephus,[2] by the famous Alexandrian Jew, Philo,[3] by many early Fathers of the Church, notably by St. Justin, St. Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and indeed by all ecclesiastical writers down to the beginning of the sixteenth century, when its authority was first questioned by Louis Vives († 1540), a distinguished professor of Louvain. Nay more, as time went on the marvellous details of the legend were improved upon: the seventy-two interpreters were transformed into inspired writers who worked independently of each other, and yet produced a translation which upon examination proved to be word for word identical; they were moreover made to render into Greek not only the Pentateuch, but also all the other books of the Hebrew Bible.[1]

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[1] It is most likely from this number, *seventy-two*, that the version received the name of *the Septuagint*, which is a round figure for seventy-two and is usually denoted by the Latin numerals LXX.

[2] Cfr. Antiquities of the Jews, Book xii, chap. ii.

[3] De Vita Moysis, Book ii, § 5.

At the present day, all biblical scholars reject these fabulous additions to the primitive legend, and consider the very *Letter of Aristeas* as spurious. Many among them go even much farther. They look upon the whole story as a pure romance invented to add to the authority of the oldest Greek Version of the Jewish "Law." They refuse to believe that the translation which abounds in expressions unintelligible to Greeks could have been made for them as represented in the legend. They point out how unlikely it is that the Jews of Alexandria should have adopted for their public services a translation of their holy "Law" made at the request of a pagan prince. Again, they tell us that the appearance of this Greek Version in Egypt, about the middle of the third century before Christ, can easily be accounted for otherwise than by appealing to the desire of a pagan king to enrich his library with a Greek translation of the sacred writings of the Jews. We have only to suppose that the Jews, so numerous in Egypt, having gradually ceased to be familiar with the Hebrew language, had "the Law" first interpreted orally in Greek in their synagogues, and that this interpretation was, after a while, for practical purposes, committed to writing. Finally, they appeal to the features of the work itself. On the one hand, it betrays an imperfect knowledge of Hebrew and contains mistakes about names of places in Palestine; and on the other hand, it is filled with Egyptian words and expressions, with Greek forms which prevailed at Alexandria, and with free renderings in striking contrast with the superstitious literalism of the Jewish schools. All these characteristics of the Greek Version of the Pentateuch make it indeed evident that it originated in Alexandria, as is affirmed by the legend; but they point to Greek-speaking Jews of that same city as the translators, rather than to Jewish scholars of Jerusalem sent by the high priest, as the Letter of Aristeas would have us believe.

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[1] Cfr. the passages of St. Irenæus, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, St. Augustine, referred to on page 262.

In view of these weighty arguments against the historical character of the very core of the legend, it is easy to understand how recent writers have thought that the story deserves no credit, except in so far as it assigns the translation of "the Law" to the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who perhaps may have shown some interest in the work.[1]

Indeed even this much could hardly be inferred with certainty from the sole Letter of Aristeas, which is not only spurious, but was manifestly written, as we perceive by its contents, for the purpose of increasing the authority of the Greek Version of the Jewish "Law." But from other considerations—especially from the study of the features of the translation—contemporary scholars conclude that the translation of the Pentateuch was made in Alexandria by Egyptian Jews about the middle of the third century before Christ, and that it formed the first instalment of the Greek Version of the Old Testament known as the Septuagint.

The other books of the Hebrew Bible were translated subsequently; some probably—the Psalms, for instance—for liturgical purposes; others, as may be inferred from the Prologue to Ecclesiasticus, with a view to spread their doctrinal and ethical teachings. Whether they were rendered into Greek soon after the translation of the Pentateuch had appeared cannot be determined with certainty. In fact, all that we really know about this point is that, at the time when the Prologue to Ecclesiasticus was written (about B.C. 130), almost all these books had been already translated for some time. Nor have we more definite information about the place where the translation was made, for the only historical aid concerning it is furnished by the conclusion of the book of Esther (chap. xi. 1), in which we are told that this book "was interpreted in *Jerusalem*." History is likewise silent in regard to the *number* and *qualifications* of the translators. It is universally admitted, however, that the variations noticeable in the renderings of identical expressions and of parallel passages repeated in several of these books point to several translators,[1] and that the difference in merit of the various portions of the translation proves that the interpreters were men of very different attainments in literary skill and in Hebrew scholarship.

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[1] For arguments in favor of the opposite view, see LOISY, Histoire Critique du Texte et des Versions de la Bible (Enseignement Biblique, Jan.-Février, 1893, p. 11, sqq.); BUHL, loc. cit., p. 113, sqq.

3. Character of the Septuagint Version. One of the most remarkable features exhibited by the Septuagint Version is connected with the Greek language in which it is written. As we already stated in chap. x, the Greek employed by the Jewish interpreters was a popular form of the Κοινὴ Διάλεκτος, which deviated much more from Attic purity than did the language used by men of culture. They, and those for whom they wrote, had learned Greek much less from books than from oral intercourse with the mixed population of Egypt and Syria; so that, even in writing, they naturally retained most of the peculiarities of the popular idiom. This is why, throughout the various portions of this version, biblical scholars have been able to point out many departures not only from Attic purity and elegance, but even from the literary style of the good authors of the same period, to notice forms which were current chiefly in Alexandria, and to trace back a large number of words and expressions to the primitive Greek dialects out of which the *Κοινή Διάλεκτος* had gradually been formed.

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[1] For examples, see LOISY, loc. cit., p. 19, sqq.

But the Septuagint translators had not only an imperfect knowledge of Greek, they also lacked a real command of Hebrew. The sacred tongue was either dead or dying, and all their knowledge of it was acquired by oral teaching, by habitual reading of the original text, and by speaking, though in a corrupt form, Hebrew among themselves. In the complete absence of grammars and dictionaries, they had to fall back upon tradition in regard to the interpretation of difficult passages, when, indeed, such interpretation had been handed down by tradition. Thus were they greatly hampered in their work, being obliged to deal with two languages, neither of which they had really mastered, and whose grammar, syntax and genius are so different from each other. No wonder then, that their Greek, already far from classical, should furthermore be marred—as it is in reality—by Hebrew idioms, translated word for word, and that we should even at times notice Hebrew words simply transcribed in Greek letters,[1] because they were unable to give their exact meaning. Of course, in all such cases, the manner in which the Jewish interpreters dealt with the text is objectionable from a literary standpoint. But, as recent scholars have justly remarked, it has the advantage of proving the general faithfulness of the translators, and of enabling us to determine with certainty the exact reading which was found in their Hebrew manuscripts.

It is plain, moreover, that they resorted to such methods of literal translation only in places where they were not able to furnish the reader with something more satisfactory; for their constant aim was to convey with great distinctness what they considered to be the exact meaning of the original. For this laudable purpose, they repeatedly changed the pronoun which represented the subject or object of a sentence into the name of the person or thing alluded to; thus, instead of "*he*" or "*him*" in the original, we find "*David*" or "*Solomon*," etc., in the Greek translation. Again, they did not scruple to add a word or two to render clearer the meaning of an obscure sentence, or to supply what appeared to be an ellipsis in the Hebrew Text. Changes of the kind were manifestly calculated to enhance the literary merit of the translation, and they do not offer much difficulty to modern biblical scholars, who, in their efforts to improve our present Hebrew Text, can easily take them into account when they compare the Septuagint Version with the original Hebrew.

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[1] Here are a few instances: Gen. xxviii, 19 ואלם לוז καὶ Οὐλαμμυς; Jos. vii, 24, עמק עכור Ἐμεκαχωρ; Judges vi, 26 מעוז Μαουεκ; IV Kings (Heb. II Kings) iii, 4 נקד Νωκηθ; etc.; etc.

At other times exegetical considerations have had great weight with the Greek interpreters, and have led them to handle the text with a freedom which we would hardly consider allowable nowadays to translators of the sacred text. Not only did they suppress the ancient proper name of the God of Israel, the true pronunciation of which is Yahweh, and substitute in its place the word *Ὁ Κύριος* (the Lord),[1] but they sedulously changed expressions which they thought could be misunderstood or used to establish some false doctrine. Thus in the Hebrew Text of Exodus xxiv, 10, we read that the ancients of Israel who went up towards Mount Sinai with Moses "saw the God of Israel." This expression, it was thought, could not be rendered literally without suggesting that the spiritual God can be seen by the bodily eyes of men, and without offering an apparent contradiction to Exodus xxxiii, 20, " No man shall see Me and live." In consequence the translators changed it and said: " They saw *the place* where the God of Israel had stood." In like manner, the Hebrew phrase " to see the form of Yahweh " becomes in the same version " to see the glory of God." [1] Other similar anthropomorphisms were so modified as to remove much of their unwelcome character; as for instance, when the Hebrew expressions in Genesis xvi, 6: " It *repented* Yahweh that He had made man on the earth, and it *grieved* Him at *His heart*, and said . . . ," are changed into: " God *thought* that He had made man on the earth, and He *reflected*, and said . . ." Obviously, in these and such other cases the primitive reading is that of the Hebrew Text.[2]

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[1] This change was effected under the influence of the superstitious reverence of the Hebrew-speaking Jews who, in reading or even transcribing the sacred text, substituted ADONAI (the Lord) or in certain cases ELOHIM (God) in place of the most sacred name, YAHWEH.

Such then are the principal literary features exhibited by the Septuagint Version. They appear in all its books, although, as might naturally be expected, their character varies considerably in its several parts. Thus, for instance, the Pentateuch is by far the best rendered in respect of clearness, care and elegance; on the contrary, the translation of Isaias is poor and paraphrastic; the translation of Job and Proverbs bespeaks a fair knowledge of Hebrew, together with a comparatively free handling of the text, while that of Ezechiel, Paralipomenon, Canticle of Canticles, and Ecclesiastes is very literal.

It is plain, therefore, that the oldest Greek Version of the Hebrew Bible bears in its style the impress of the various circumstances of time and place in the midst of which it was made, and of the exegetical views of the translators. Nor is it less certain that these literary features must not be lost sight of, whenever we wish to utilize the LXX for the improvement of our present Hebrew Text, although they cannot in any way compare in importance with the textual features which we have now briefly to point out.[1]

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[1] Cfr. Numb. xii, 8; Ps. xvii, (in Greek, Ps. xvi), 15, etc.

[2] For other examples, cfr. W. R. SMITH, The Old Testament in the Jewish Church, p. 77, sq. (2d edit.).

The first of these textual features regards the numerous and important differences which exist between the Septuagint and our Hebrew Bible. The *Pentateuch* is certainly the portion of Holy Writ in which these textual differences are least considerable. And yet, even in the Pentateuch, especially in the book of Exodus, biblical scholars have pointed out several important variations from the Hebrew Text in the form of additions, omissions, inversions, etc.[2] They have moreover noticed that throughout the Pentateuch the Septuagint presents numberless differences of detail, the significance of which has appeared the greater in their eyes because in many of these passages the Greek Version agrees with the Samaritan Pentateuch, a form of the Hebrew Text, which, as stated in chapter ix, goes back at least to the fifth century before our era.

Many of the variations noticeable in the *Books of Kings* are far more extensive. Thus in III Kings we remark after the first verse of chap. iii, an addition of 19 lines; verse 46 in the same chapter (in the Septuagint) has been increased by an addition of 19 lines also; and in chap. xii so much has been added to verse 24 that in the LXX it has 68 long lines instead of the two or three it should naturally have, if it were a simple translation of our Hebrew Text. Several omissions are on the same extensive scale as the additions just spoken of. Thus in the narrative of David and Goliath in chap. xvii of the first book of Kings, the Septuagint omits the verses 12–31, 41, 50, 55–58; again in III Kings, chap. ix, verses 15–25, recording Solomon's dealings with Pharao, with the remnant of the Chanaanite population and with his own subjects, are entirely omitted; in chap. xiv of the same book, the first twenty verses containing the prediction of the fate of the family of Jeroboam are likewise omitted, etc. Transpositions of long passages are also to be found in the Septuagint Version; as, for instance, in III Kings, where the first twelve verses of chap. vii are placed after verse 51 of the same chapter, and where chap. xxi occurs before chap. xx.

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[1] As in sketching the History of the Old Testament Canon, we examined the fac that the Septuagint contains several books and parts of books over and above those of the Hebrew Bible, we shall not come back here on this most important textual difference between the LXX and the Hebrew Text.

[2] Cfr. Numb. iv, 14; x, 6; Exod. xii, 10; xxviii, 23–28; xxxv, 13–18, etc.

The *Prophetical Writings* abound likewise in important textual differences. This is especially true of Ezechiel, and more particularly still of *Jeremias.*[1] In the last named prophet, the oracles "Against the Nations" contained in chaps. xlvi–li in the Hebrew are inserted—and in a different order—immediately after chap. xxiv, 13, in the Septuagint. Beside these transpositions we find important omissions (chap. xvii, 1–4; xxvii, a great part of verses 5–22; xxix, 16–20; xxxiii, 14-26; xxxix, 4–13, etc., etc.). In fact, no less than 2,700 words, or one-eighth of the entire book, are not represented in this oldest Greek translation.

The textual differences exhibited by the book of Jeremias have more than their counterpart in at least one of the poetical works of the Bible, viz., the book of *Proverbs.* They are most considerable in the second part of this book, and consist in (1) *omissions:* xi, 4; xiii, 6; xvi, 1–4; xviii, 23–24; xix, 1-2; xx, 14-19; xxi, 5; xxii, 6; xxiii, 23; xxiv, 8; (2) *transpositions:* the third verse of chap. xix in the Hebrew is the last verse of chap. xviii in the Septuagint; in chap. xx of the LXX verses 20–22 are placed between verses 9 and 10; after the verse 22 of chap. xxiv, we read xxix, 27 followed by four distichs nowhere found in the Hebrew, etc.; (3) *additions:* proverbs are inserted between x, 4 and x, 5; xi, 16 and xi, 17; xii, 11 and xii, 12; in chap. xvi no less than five proverbs not found in the Hebrew Text are also added, etc., etc.[1]

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[1] We do not intend to dwell here on the textual features of the book of *Daniel,* the Septuagint translation of which differs very much from the Hebrew Text, and was supplanted in the Church by that of Theodotion in the second part of the second century.

In the book of *Job* we notice most important omissions. Unfortunately, even in the Codex Vaticanus, the Septuagint translation of this book has been much tampered with, so that it has long been difficult to realize their number and character. Within the last few years, however, copies of the book of Job in an Egyptian translation called the *Sahidic* have been discovered, and have allowed some biblical scholars to reach conclusions which they consider definitive about these omissions, for both intrinsic and extrinsic reasons tend to prove that the Egyptian translation was made directly from the Septuagint when this Greek Version was still in its primitive form. Now in these copies the omissions amount to about 400 lines;[2] so that the whole book, as it probably stood originally in the Septuagint, was about one-sixth shorter than in our Hebrew Bible.

It is not necessary that we should pursue further this indication of textual differences between the LXX and the original Hebrew. Those which have just been pointed out are more than sufficient to vindicate the general position assumed by most recent biblical scholars, Catholic and Protestant alike. Even admitting that a large number of minor variations are due to mistakes on the part of the Septuagint interpreters to a freedom of translation which amounts to paraphrase, etc., it is certain that the numerous and larger variations above mentioned lead to the conclusion that the Hebrew Text which lay before the Greek translators differed very considerably from the Hebrew Text in the form in which it has come down to us. This conclusion is pressed upon us especially in connection with the books distinct from the Pentateuch, for the larger differences noticeable in them are so extensive, so numerous, so constantly combined with minor variations of a similar kind that they clearly point to a Hebrew original different from the Massoretic Text.[1] But even in regard to the Pentateuch this same conclusion should be admitted, because on the one hand there is a very large number of passages in which the text presupposed by the Septuagint agrees with the Samaritan Pentateuch over against the readings of our Hebrew Bible, and, on the other hand, there is no ground for affirming that either the LXX or the Samaritan Pentateuch were influenced by each other.

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[1] For other differences, see VIGOUROUX, Manuel Biblique, vol. ii, No. 822, footnote. Cfr. also Prof. TOY, The Book of Proverbs, p. xxxii, sq.

[2] Cfr. DRIVER, Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament, p. 431 (sixth edit.); and art. Job, in HASTINGS, A Dictionary of the Bible, vol. ii, p. 664. As early as the beginning of the third century these very extensive omissions had been noticed (cfr. Origen's Letter to Africanus, § 4).

Taking it, then, for granted that the Septuagint Version points to a Hebrew original different from our existing Hebrew Text, the question naturally arises, Which of the two texts is the primitive? The problem is an intricate one, and has received different solutions during the last three centuries, some scholars contending for the exclusive purity of the Massoretic Text, others maintaining the superiority of the Septuagint. The claims of each text to represent the very words of the primitive copies have been greatly exaggerated by their respective advocates, and it is only gradually that more moderate, and consequently more correct, views have been adopted by biblical critics. At the present day all well-informed and unprejudiced scholars admit that in a very large number of cases the purer reading has been preserved by the old Greek translation, and that "there are few books of the Old Testament in which the Massoretic Text may not, more or less frequently, be emended by help of the LXX." [1]

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[1] In connection with the book of Proverbs, for instance, VIGOUROUX (Manuel Biblique, vol. ii, No. 822), does not hesitate to say: "Most of the variations are derived from a different Hebrew original."

It should be noticed, however, that in the correction of the Hebrew Bible the Septuagint Version must be used with great caution, because the translators rendered at times the original text with great freedom, and also because their work underwent important alterations in the course of ages.

4. Subsequent History of the Septuagint. As the circumstances of time, place, etc., which accompanied the origin and gradual formation of the Greek Bible, now known as the Septuagint, are involved in the greatest obscurity, it is impossible at the present day to describe the manner in which it was looked upon at first by the Jews at large. It has indeed been surmised that its first instalment, the Greek translation of the Pentateuch, met with considerable opposition on the part of the Jews, who would have seen with regret their holy "Law" rendered into a foreign and pagan tongue, and that the Letter of Aristeas was composed and circulated with a view to secure for the work of the Septuagint the credit it really deserved. It has also been affirmed that "when the Septuagint translation was completed it became at once the Bible of the Greek-speaking Jews." [2] But, in the complete absence of documents in this regard, it is difficult not to consider such statements as little more than conjectural.

Much better grounded on fact is the more cautious position generally assumed by scholars, that the Septuagint obtained a rapid and wide circulation. It was only natural that this version should spread without much difficulty among the Greek-speaking Jews, who, throughout the West, had long felt the need of such a work, and undergone the powerful influence of the numerous and wealthy Jewish population of the great Egyptian capital. Hardly less natural was it that even the Jews of Palestine should gradually look with favor upon a translation which would bring more easily their religion to the notice of many pagans inclined towards Judaism, and which could be readily used by Jewish apologists in their various treatises to vindicate the laws and worship of Yahweh. In point of fact, as early as the middle of the second century before Christ the author of the Prologue to Ecclesiasticus makes mention of an existing version of "the Law, the Prophets, and the rest of the Books," and whose usefulness led him to undertake the translation of the work primitively written in Hebrew by his grandfather, Jesus. The fabulous details of the Letter of Aristeas contributed no doubt to secure popularity to the Greek translation of the Pentateuch, and we learn from the celebrated Alexandrian Jew, Philo (born about 20 B.C.), that "up to his time a yearly and solemn festival was celebrated in the island of Pharos, to return thanks to God in the very place where the Septuagint Version had been made."[1] Philo used it in the composition of his various works, and even numbered its authors among the inspired prophets of old. It is also beyond question that long before the Christian era it was substituted in place of the original Hebrew in the public services of the Greek-speaking Jews dispersed throughout the world. Even in Palestine it was probably used in the Hellenistic synagogues of Cæsarea, and perhaps of Jerusalem, and the Jewish priest and historian, Josephus († about 100 A.D.) used it freely in his writings.[1]

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[1] Driver, Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel, p. xli.

[2] Kenyon, Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts, p. 51. Cornely, Introd. in S. Script., vol. i, p. 332, seems to adopt the same view, when he says: *Quamprimum in lucem publicam prodiit* (Alexandrina *Versio*), *maximo cum plausu ab omnibus Judæis recepta est.*

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[1] De Vita Moysis, Book ii, § 7.

With the rise of Christianity, the destruction of Jerusalem, and the fixing of the Hebrew Canon and Text by the Jewish authorities, a new period opened in the history of the Alexandrian Version of the Old Testament. Quoted by the New Testament writers, as we already said, used by the early Fathers and writers of the Church, looked upon by many as no less inspired than the original Hebrew, the Septuagint naturally became the Bible to which Christians appealed confidently in their controversies against the Jews. Then it was that, worsted by arguments derived from their own version, these adversaries of the Christian name began to deny that it agreed with the Hebrew Text, ceased to reverence it, and finally rejected it, declaring that "the day on which the LXX translated 'the Law' was for Israel as doleful as the day on which the golden calf was made."[2] Then it was also that the current Greek Text (the *Κοινὴ ἔκδοσις*) already somewhat altered by Hellenistic transcribers,[3] became more and more corrupted in the hands of Christian copyists who modified it, through ignorance, carelessness, desire to improve it, etc., etc.[4] As the copies multiplied, so did likewise the variations between them, with the natural result that, at the end of the second century, Christians could not ascertain which of the various readings was the true rendering of the Hebrew original, and could not consequently urge any of them in controversy against the Jews. This uncertainty of the apologists of the Christian faith was also increased by the fact that new Greek versions directly made from the Hebrew by Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, differed very much at times from the readings of the *Κοινὴ ἔκδοσις*.

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[1] Cfr. LOISY, loc. cit., p. 29, sq.; S. DAVIDSON, A Treatise on Biblical Criticism, vol. i, p. 196.

[2] This passage of the Talmud (Sepher Torah, i, 8) is quoted by BUHL, Canon and Text of the Old Testament, p. 119 (Engl. Transl.).

[3] Alterations have been pointed out by scholars in the Greek Text of the LXX used by Philo (Cfr. Grabe, De vitiis LXX ante Origenis ævum illatis).

[4] Some Christians inserted glosses in their own copies. The best-known of these interpolations is found in Ps. xcv, 10, "The Lord reigned *from the wood*" (ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου), words which St. Justin and other Fathers considered as maliciously suppressed by the Jews from the Hebrew.

At this juncture, the great biblical scholar of the third century, Origen (186–254), came to the rescue of the defenders of Christianity by supplying them with the means to ascertain at a glance the exact relation in which the Septuagint translation stood with the Hebrew Text and with the other Greek versions of the time.[1] This he did in his gigantic work to which was given the name of the *Hexapla*, because at the opening of his book, six columns were placed before the eyes of the reader. These six columns contained respectively: (1) The Hebrew Text in its square letters; (2) the same Hebrew Text, but written in Greek letters; (3) the Greek Version of Aquila, placed here as being closest in its renderings to the Hebrew original; (4) the translation of Symmachus; (5) the Septuagint, as revised by Origen himself; and finally (6) the Version of Theodotion, which came last in the series, because the furthest removed in style from the original Hebrew.[2] The *Hexapla* formed an immense work, consisting of about fifty bulky volumes, so that it is not surprising to find that when it perished, in the seventh century, no full transcript had been made of it. So was it also probably with the reduced edition of it, which Origen himself had prepared, and which is known under the name of the *Tetrapla*, because it contained simply the last four columns of the *Hexapla*. Only one of these columns of the *Hexapla* and the *Tetrapla* was in fact destined to survive entire, and naturally enough it was that which exhibited the text of the Septuagint. As mentioned above, this was not the text of the *Κοινὴ ἔκδοσις*, but such a revision of it as would allow Christian apologists to realize at a glance its exact relation with the other Greek versions and especially with the original Hebrew. For this purpose Origen employed the critical signs of the grammarians of his time, marking (1) with an *obelus* (—) the passages which occurred in the Septuagint and were not found in the Hebrew; (2) with an *asterisk* (⋇ or ⁜) the passages which were in the Hebrew and which he had inserted into the Septuagint from another Greek translation, most frequently from that of Theodotion;[1] and (3) with a *metobelus* (✓) the end of each difference noticed or alteration introduced.[2] The *Hexaplar* Text of the Septuagint, so called from its having been framed by Origen for his *Hexapla*, was therefore, practically, that of the old Greek Version made to correspond as closely as possible with the Hebrew Text of the time, and consequently one most valuable in the eyes of his contemporaries in their discussions with the Jews.

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[1] That this was the chief purpose of the illustrious critic is put beyond question by his letter to Africanus, § 17.

[2] In some books, two and even three other Greek versions were added, thus forming what have been called the OCTAPLA and ENNEAPLA. The authors of these translations are unknown; they are usually simply called the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh versions.

While the Hexaplar Text was copied and circulated in Palestine by the efforts of Pamphilus and Eusebius of Cæsarea, the common text of the Septuagint (the *Κοινὴ ἔκδοσις*) was subjected to two new revisions. The one was carried out by the presbyter Lucian († 311), a leader of the Antiochian school, who with the help of the versions of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion, and chiefly by means of the Hebrew, succeeded in bringing forth a recension, which many consider as remarkable for its closeness to the original.[1] Others, on the contrary, think that "the most marked characteristic of this edition was Lucian's habit, when he found different words or phrases in different copies to combine them into a composite phrase, and so to preserve both."[2] But in our present imperfect knowledge of what concerns the recension of Lucian, it can hardly be said that either of the positions just mentioned rests on truly sufficient grounds.[3] According to St. Jerome,[4] this recension bore the name of *Λουκιανὸς* or *Κοινὴ*, and was adopted in the churches of Syria and Constantinople.

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[1] Origen marked by the initial letters of the names of the translators, the particular Greek versions from which he borrowed the expressions which he inserted into the Septuagint Text. It seems that at times he made alterations in the LXX, without any remark (cfr. FIELD, Prolegomena, chap. vii § 4).

[2] As might be expected, copyists soon exchanged the critical marks of Origen one for another, or omitted them altogether, etc.; later, all appeared in many MSS. of the LXX, written without critical marks, as if all belonged to the primitive Septuagint Text.

Of the second recension of the old Septuagint Text less still is known to us. It was made by Hesychius, who is usually identified with the Egyptian bishop of that name, who, like Lucian, suffered martyrdom in 311, during the persecution of Maximus. It was circulated in Alexandria and Egypt, and is supposed by some recent scholars to have been a revision of the *Κοινὴ* made after the same method as that of Lucian, and on a Septuagint Text which differed considerably from the one used in Antioch and in Cæsarea.[5]

After the beginning of the fourth century the Septuagint Version, as far as we know, did not undergo any important revision in the Greek churches. In one form or another, and gradually becoming corrupted in all by the mistakes of transcribers, or by their intentional mixture of the revised texts, it continued to be, as it is down to the present day, the Old Testament of the Greek or Eastern Church. The principal MSS. in which it has come down to us are, among the Uncials, the *Sinaiticus* (א); the *Vaticanus* (B); the

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[1] Cfr. Chauvin, Leçons d'Introduction Générale, p. 299, sq.

[2] Kenyon, Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts, p. 57.

[3] Cfr. Buhl, Canon and Text of the Old Testament, §§ 44, 46.

[4] Epist. ad Sunniam et Fretelam (Epist. 106); Apologia adv. Lib. Rufini, Book ii, § 27.

[5] Chauvin, ibid., p. 301; cfr. Buhl, p. 132 (Engl. Transl.).

Alexandrinus (A); and the palimpsest *Codex Ephræmi*, already described in connection with the transmission of the Greek New Testament, and containing the books of both Testaments; the *Sarravianus* (G) of the fifth century, now at Leyden, and comprising the Pentateuch, with portions of Josue and Judges in the *Hexaplar* Text with Origen's asterisks and obeli; and a few other fragmentary codices of special value because either exhibiting the Hexaplar Text with its critical marks, or (like the Codex *Marchalianus* (Q) of the Vatican Library) containing the Egyptian Text of Hesychius.[1] The cursive MSS. of the Septuagint are over 300 in number, and are all more or less fragmentary, 63 of them containing the Pentateuch or part of it; 55 containing the historical books; 128 the book of Psalms, etc. "The value of the cursives only appears when they can be divided into groups, showing common descent from one or other of the ancient editions of the Septuagint which have been described above."[2]

The history of the printed text of the Septuagint Version begins with the sixteenth century, when the celebrated Cardinal XIMENES published it for the first time in what is known as the Complutensian Polyglot (1514–1517). His Greek Text was mainly based on two late cursive MSS. of the Vatican library, and it represents chiefly the recension of Lucian.[3] It has been reproduced in the great Polyglots of Antwerp and Paris, and more recently in the *Polyglotten-Bibel* of Stier and Theile. Very soon after the Complutensian Polyglot was completed, a great printer of Venice, named Aldus MANUTIUS, gave an edition of the LXX, based on codices then found in that city. It was followed some seventy years later (in 1587) by the much more important edition which appeared in Rome under the auspices of Pope Sixtus V, and which still remains the "Textus Receptus" of the Septuagint translation. This standard text was framed by the best English, Italian, French, and Spanish scholars of the time,[1] by means of the Vaticanus, the Venetus Bessarionis (an uncial of the eighth or ninth century), one MS. belonging to Card. Carafa, and other codices of the Medici Library in Florence. The Roman edition does not give unaltered the text of the Codex Vaticanus,[2] but is chiefly based on it. It has been often reproduced, notably in the Polyglot of Walton (1657) with various readings from the Alexandrinus MS., and in the large Holmes-Parsons edition (1798–1827), a valuable, though not always reliable, storehouse of the variations presented by MSS., ecclesiastical writers, versions, etc. In 1707–1728 Grabe, an Anglo-Prussian scholar, published in Oxford an excellent edition of the Codex Alexandrinus, supplemented from other MSS. where A is deficient, together with the various readings of the Roman edition and three MSS. "Of later editors it is only necessary to mention Tischendorf, who, in 1850, issued a revision of the Roman Text, with variants from ℵ, A and C (seventh edition in 1887, by Dr. Nestle); Field, who edited the remains of the *Hexapla* in 1875; Lagarde, who in 1883 published an attempt to recover the edition of Lucian, besides many other valuable contributions to the criticism of the Septuagint; and Dr. Swete, of Cambridge, who has just completed (1887–1894) an edition giving the text of the Septuagint according to the best MS. extant in each part (B, wherever it is available, elsewhere ℵ or A), with all the variants in three or four of the next best manuscripts. This is likely to remain the standard edition of the Septuagint for the use of scholars, until it is superseded by the larger Cambridge edition now in preparation, which will contain the same text with a very much larger apparatus of various readings, gathered from a selected number of MSS. representing all the different types of text."[1]

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[1] For details, see KENYON, ibid, p. 59, sqq.

[2] KENYON, ibid, p. 67.

[3] LOISY, Histoire Critique du Texte et des Versions de la Bible, in l'Enseignement Biblique, January, 1893, p. 66.

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[1] The best-known among them, are beside the Card. President Carafa, Peter Morinus, Emmanuel Sa, Flaminius Nobilius, Bellarmin, Valverde, W. Allen, etc.

[2] "It has been estimated that the Roman Text differs from that of B in over 4,000 places" (Kenyon, Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts, p. 67, footn.).

5. Recent Efforts to Recover the Original Text of the Septuagint. From the foregoing sketch of the history of the LXX, it is clear that the text of the *Κοινὴ ἔκδοσις* before it was revised by Origen, can hardly be recovered at the present day. In point of fact, all that biblical scholars attempt now to do is to secure a solid basis for further critical operations by restoring, as far as that can be done, the recensions of Lucian, Hesychius and of Origen himself as reproduced by Pamphilus and Eusebius. Their efforts in this direction have indeed been crowned with considerable success, for by means of extant MSS., of quotations from ecclesiastical writers whose nationality was fully known, and also by means of subsequent versions, such as the Gothic and chiefly the Syriac translation of the Hexaplar Text of the Septuagint, which Bishop Paul of Tella made at the beginning of the seventh century,[2] these scholars have been able to restore to a great extent the text of Lucian, and that of Origen as it was published by Eusebius and Pamphilus.[3] But despite the work thus accomplished, numerous and apparently insuperable difficulties still remain in the way of recovering the Septuagint Text before its revision by Origen. There is, first of all, the ignorance of critics regarding the recension of Hesychius, about whose text they can offer yet little more than vague conjectures. Again, even in connection with the Lucian recension, there is lack of agreement as to the MSS. which should be considered as containing it. Many obscurities surround likewise the Hexaplar recension, whose critical marks have not come down to us without having been often exchanged one for another, so that, in many cases, it is next to impossible to decide whether they exactly point out the additions or omissions which Origen had intended to denote after comparing the *Κοινή* with the Hebrew original. Finally, even supposing that the text of these three recensions should be pretty fully recovered, considerable uncertainty would still prevail regarding the text of the *Κοινὴ ἔκδοσις*, for time and again, a critical comparison between them would not enable scholars to determine the exact reading of the old *Κοινή*, in places where Origen introduced alterations without any mention thereof, or in passages where the Septuagint texts used by him and by Lucian and Hesychius contained already different readings.

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[1] F. G. Kenyon, ibid., p. 68. For details, see Loisy, op. cit., p. 72, sqq.

[2] This translation preserved the critical marks of Origen pretty much as they were found in the Hexaplar Text edited by Pamphilus and Eusebius.

[3] For details, see Buhl, Canon and Text of the Old Testament, pp. 137-148 (Engl. Transl.).

It must be said, however, that many critics do not give up all hope to work back of these restored recensions to the text of the *Κοινὴ ἔκδοσις* as it stood before it was revised by Origen.[1]

§ 2. *Other Ancient Greek Versions of the Old Testament.*

1. Origin and Leading Features of the Versions of Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus. While the Septuagint translation has survived down to the present day under the patronage of the Christian Church, the Greek versions originated in Jewish circles during the second century of our era with a view to supplant that translation, have almost entirely disappeared. The first of these versions was the work of AQUILA, spoken of by St. Irenæus, as a Jewish proselyte of Synope, in Pontus,[1] and now considered by many as identical with Onkelos, the author of the principal Targum on the Pentateuch. St. Jerome speaks of him as a disciple of Rabbi Aqiba,[2] and there is no doubt that Aquila's translation was made with the same attention to the most minute details of the Hebrew original, as had been inculcated upon his scholars by R. Aqiba. As Aquila intended to supply the Greek-speaking Jews with a version which would be an exact counterpart of the Hebrew Text, as it had been recently settled, he rendered the original in the most literal way, not even neglecting the particle אֵת, the mere sign of the direct object of a transitive verb, not recoiling from barbarisms and solecisms, etc. His work appeared somewhat about 130–140, and was very favorably received by the Jews, to whom it proved all the more serviceable in their controversies with the early Christians, because, under its appearance of strict literalism, it seems to have been at times biased in its renderings by dogmatic prejudice.[3]

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[1] Cfr. Buhl, loc. cit., p. 148, sq.; and Loisy, op. cit., p. 79, sqq.

Later in the same century -how much later, cannot now be determined—appeared a second Greek Version whose author was the Jewish proselyte, THEODOTION, and whose origin was possibly due to the unwillingness of many Greek-speaking Jews to give up the old Septuagint Text with which they had been so long familiar, to the full extent of the extreme departures from it noticeable in the translation of Aquila. "The work of Theodotion is indeed to be regarded as a sort of comprehensive revision of the LXX, to which it also attaches itself by this, that it retains the apocryphal (i.e., deutero-canonical) additions to Daniel and the postscript to Job. It is characteristic of his method that not rarely Theodotion receives into his translation the Hebrew word unchanged."[1] As might naturally be expected, this translation never found much favor with the Jews at large, to whom it appeared little different from the old Septuagint Text, whereas it was well received by the Christians, who rejoiced to find therein a means to improve the *Κοινὴ ἔκδοσις*. Origen made use of it, as was already said, as a companion to his Septuagint column ; St. Irenæus made use of its text of Daniel, which afterwards altogether supplanted in the Church the older translation of that prophet, and "the possibly even older custom of interpolating the LXX with passages from Theodotion, was carried out systematically by Origen (see, e.g., Jerem. xxxiii, 14–26), and thereby contributed still more to the mixing up of it with the Alexandrine translation."[2]

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[1] St. IRENÆUS, Against Heresies, Book iii, chap. xxi.

[2] Comm. in Isaiam, on chap. viii, 11, sqq.

[3] For further information, see CHAUVIN, Leçons d'Introduction Générale, p. 314, sqq.; CORNELY, Historica et Critica Introductio in U. T. Libros Sacros, vol. i, p. 333, sq.

The third and last Greek translator of the second century[3] was the Ebionite Jewish Christian, SYMMACHUS, whose literary ability is stamped upon his work. Equally a master of Hebrew and Greek, he rendered the Hebrew phrases of the original into good and idiomatic Greek. He was, indeed, a model of the elegant and faithful translator, and hence it is not to be wondered at that St. Jerome admired greatly his work, and made large use of it in his preparation of the Latin Vulgate. As the version of Symmachus was not very closely made from the original—at times, in fact, it is quite paraphrastic—it never was very popular among the Jews.

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[1] BUHL, Canon and Text of the Old Testament, p. 154 (Engl. Transl.).

[2] BUHL, ibid, p. 155.

[3] The exact date at which the Version of Symmachus appeared is unknown. It was probably made in the last years of the second century ; F. G. Kenyon says "about the year 200."

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER XIII.

The Syriac and Coptic Versions of the Bible.

- I. The Syriac Versions:
  - 1. Of the Old Testament: The Peshitto (name, origin and leading features).
  - 2. Of the New Testament:
    - Tatian's Diatessaron (ab. 172 A.D.).
    - The Peshitto.
    - The Curetonian Syriac.
    - The Sinaitic Palimpsest discovered by Mrs. Lewis.
- II. The Coptic Versions:
  - 1. Number and date.
  - 2. Versions of the Old Testament: especially serviceable for the critical study of the LXX Text.
  - 3. Versions of the New Testament:
    - Text contained in them.
    - Their manifold importance.
- III. Appendix:
  - The Ethiopic, Armenian and Gothic versions.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE SYRIAC AND COPTIC VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE.

§ 1. *The Syriac Versions.*

1. The Syriac Translations of the Old Testament. Of the Eastern translations of the Old Testament none ranks higher in respect of antiquity and importance, after the Septuagint, than the Syriac Version, which is commonly called the *Peshitto* (ܦܫܝܛܬܐ , *Simple*). This name, which is found first in Syriac MSS. of the ninth century, has been understood in various ways. According to some, it denotes the *literal* and *faithful* character of the oldest Syriac Version; according to others, it designates its great currency, and is practically equivalent to *Κοινή*, *Vulgata*. More probably, it has a direct reference to the contrast which exists between this old version, and the one made by Paul of Tella, in the beginning of the seventh century: for while the latter renders the Septuagint Text of the *Hexapla* and contains its critical additions and marks over and above what is found in the original Hebrew, the former was directly made from manuscripts called *ἁπλᾶ* (simple) because simply containing the Hebrew Text, and was itself named "Simple" on that account.[1]

But whatever may be thought of the various explanations given of the word *Peshitto*, there is hardly any doubt that the version of the Old Testament thus designated, goes back to a very remote antiquity. It was certainly in existence in the third century of our era, for in the century following, we find it quoted and referred to[1] as an authority of long standing. Several data—among which may be mentioned, first, a reference of St. Melito, Bishop of Sardis about 170, to a Syriac translation (*ὁ Σύρος*), and next, the fact that the Peshitto of the New Testament quotes the old Covenant in the words of the Peshitto of the Old Testament[2]—tend even to prove that the oldest Syriac translation goes back to the second century after Christ, an inference which is in perfect harmony with the very early and flourishing condition of Christianity in Mesopotamia. We should bear in mind, however, that all the parts of the Peshitto of the Old Testament must not be referred to so early a period. The oldest Syriac Version, as the oldest Greek Version of the old Covenant, was the work of several translators who were not contemporary. The parts first translated were naturally those whose need was most felt, and these were the Pentateuch, the Prophets and the Psalms. The books of Chronicles, Esdras and Nehemias and Esther were rendered later on from the Hebrew; and later still very likely, the deutero-canonical books or parts of books which were rendered from the Greek, with the exception of Ecclesiasticus which was directly translated from the original Hebrew. In the fourth century, all the books of the Old Testament had been rendered into Syriac; and to these even some apocryphal works had been added, as we see from the quotations made from them by Aphraates and St. Ephrem.[3]

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[1] Cfr. BUHL, Canon and Text of the Old Testament, p. 185; CHAUVIN, Leçons d'Introduction Générale, p. 385; Rubens DUVAL, La Littérature Syriaque, p. 35. KENYON (op. cit., p. 74) says: "The explanation of the name is unknown."

But while the plurality of the translators is admitted by all recent scholars, their nationality and religion are still matters of lively discussion. According to some, these translators were Jews; according to others, they were Jewish or even Greek Christians. This last view is certainly to be rejected, for had the Peshitto been the work of Greek translators, it can hardly be doubted that they would have rendered into Syriac not the Hebrew, but the Septuagint Text, and that they would not have allowed themselves to be influenced by the existing Targums on the Pentateuch, Ezechiel and Chronicles, as we know was the case from the thorough essays of Perles, Cornill and Frænkel. Nor can it be said either, that the Syriac translators were simply Jews, for there are passages in the Prophets and in the Psalms, whose Christian coloring argues very strongly against such view, unless indeed we admit that these comparatively few passages were altered later on by Christian hands.[1] The more probable, and also more common, opinion among scholars, is that the Peshitto of the Old Testament is the work of Jewish Christians; for, on the one hand, the Syrian Christians ever recognized the Peshitto as their own version of the Bible; and on the other hand, Christians converted from Judaism would naturally enough avail themselves of older Jewish translations, such as were made use of in the Peshitto of the Old Testament. Again, in admitting that converts from Judaism are the authors of the oldest Syriac Version, we have a ready explanation of the dependence which existed apparently from the first, between the Peshitto and the Septuagint: as Jews, they would naturally select the Hebrew Text as the basis of their work; as Christians, they would no less naturally turn to the Septuagint, now become the Christian Bible, for help in their difficult undertaking.[2]

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[1] The first certain witness that we have for its existence is APHRAATES, in the first part of the fourth century.

[2] Cfr. BUHL, and DUVAL, loc. cit.; see also SCRIVENER, A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament, vol. ii, p. 7.

[3] Cfr. DUVAL, loc. cit., p. 38. The plurality of the translators is witnessed to by St. Ephrem († 373) and James of Edessa († 708), in their commentaries on the Peshitto.

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[1] Cfr. S. DAVIDSON, A Treatise on Biblical Criticism, vol. i, p. 247.

[2] It must be said, however, that some leading scholars of the day prefer to admit that the Peshitto translation was not made with the help of the LXX, but was revised later by means of the Greek Text of Lucian (cfr. DUVAL, loc. cit., p. 39, sqq.).

"Considered as a translation, the Peshitto, as a whole, takes no mean rank. If it does not reach the elevation of the LXX in its best parts, it never sinks so low as the Alexandrine translation, which may be convincingly proved if one, e.g., compares the Syriac Isaias with the Greek. Almost everywhere it conveys an intelligible meaning, and oftentimes one meets with renderings which rest upon good tradition or happy divination. Here and there, its value is lessened by confusions between the Hebrew and Aramaic dialect, which are surely excusable considering the close relationship of the two languages. Worse, and more dangerous for inexperienced critics of the text, is the freedom with which suffixes and verbal forms are sometimes interchanged. In addition to this, there is the circumstance, already adverted to, and whereby the importance of the Peshitto for Textual Criticism is very seriously depreciated, namely, its dependence upon the LXX. Where the Syriac and Greek versions agree against the Massoretic Text, we can seldom be sure whether the Syrian witness is only an unimportant reduplication of that of the LXX, or whether the original text on which the Syriac was based had actually so read. While the Peshitto is otherwise thoroughly distinguished from the Targums by its literalness and close adherence to the original, an exception in this respect is found in the translation of the books of Chronicles."[1]

2. **The Syriac Versions of the New Testament.** However difficult and well-nigh insoluble may appear the problems connected with the Peshitto of the Old Testament, it must be said that the questions which concern the Syriac versions of the New Testament appear still more complex

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[1] BUHL, Canon and Text of the Old Testament, pp. 190-191 (Engl. Transl.). About the *Philoxenian* Version of the Old Testament, made in the beginning of the sixth century, and the Syro-Hexaplar of Paul of Tella, already referred to, see DUVAL, loc. cit., p. 64, sq.

and farther removed from a satisfactory solution. We shall therefore speak very briefly of these versions, and point out rather than discuss the difficult problems connected with them.

Among the oldest Syriac translations of the New Testament, biblical scholars at large reckon the Harmony of our four Gospels, framed by Tatian, a disciple of St. Justin, and generally referred to under its Greek name of *Diatessaron* (*Τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων Εὐαγγέλιον*).[1] It is true that some contemporary scholars maintain that Tatian composed his Harmony in Greek; but this view, which is exclusively based on the fact that ancient writers quote it under the Greek name just mentioned, can hardly be considered as probable. Tatian was a native of Mesopotamia, who lived in the second part of the second century, and who, according to St. Epiphanius, framed his Harmony of the Gospels after his return from Rome. From this, it is only natural to infer that he composed his work for the use of the Mesopotamian churches, and consequently in Syriac. In point of fact, scholars admit generally that Tatian's Diatessaron was written in that language, at Edessa, about 172 A.D. Whether it was compiled from an earlier Syriac Version of the individual Gospels, or directly from Greek MSS. of the New Testament, is a further question much debated, and to which we will soon have to refer again.

The Diatessaron of Tatian was much spread in the Syrian Church, until Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa († 435), and Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus († ab. 458) forbade its use in their dioceses. Henceforward, Syrian copies of the separate Gospels were used in its stead in the public services, and this soon entailed the loss of the original text of the Diatessaron. Some twelve years ago, Father Ciasca published in Rome an Arabic Version of this important work, and it is to be hoped that a thorough study of the Arabic Text will enable scholars to determine the precise relation in which Tatian's Diatessaron stands to the other Syriac translations of the Gospels.

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[1] Syrian authors give it also the name of the *Gospel of the united* (books) ܕܡܚܠܛܐ ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ, in opposition to the individual or *separate Gospels.*

The second Syriac Version to be mentioned here is no other than the Peshitto of the New Testament, the great standard translation of the Syrian churches, down to the present day. Its text, which is known to us through a large number of manuscripts,[1] was certainly settled by the middle of the fifth century, for there is no great textual difference between the copies of it which have been used by the several hostile sects formed at that time or developed later in the bosom of the Syrian Church.[2] It is likewise certain that the Peshitto of the New Testament, as we now possess it, or at least in a form akin to it, was in general use early in the fourth century, for this is clearly proved by the quotations of Holy Writ which are found in the works of Aphraates (he wrote about 340), and especially of St. Ephrem († 373). It is even generally granted that since it enjoyed such currency in the fourth century, the Peshitto must have been made as early as the third century. But here stops the agreement between biblical scholars. While many among them (such as Westcott and Hort, Bickell, Kenyon, Duval, etc.), look upon the Peshitto as a third century revision of an older Syriac Version, the others regard it as the primitive Syriac translation, made with a view to supply the earliest Christian churches of Mesopotamia with a vernacular translation of the New Testament, and they consequently ascribe it to the second century after Christ. We shall leave aside for the moment this difficult question, for it can be understood only after details have been given about the other Syriac versions with which the Peshitto is to be compared in respect of antiquity, and we shall at once describe briefly the leading features of its text.

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[1] The total hitherto recorded of the Peshitto MSS. is 177, two of which go back to the fifth century, and at least a dozen more to the sixth century.

[2] "The same translation of Holy Scripture is read alike in the public assemblies of the Nestorians among the fastnesses of Koordistan, of the Monophysites, who are scattered over the plains of Syria, of the Christians of St. Thomas along the coast of Malabar, and of the Maronites on the mountain-terraces of Lebanon. . . . " (SCRIVENER, loc. cit., vol. ii., p. 7, sq.)

The primitive Peshitto of the New Testament comprised the four Gospels, the Acts immediately followed by I Peter, I John, and the Epistle of St. James; lastly came the Epistles of St. Paul. The other canonical books, viz., II Peter, II and III John, St. Jude and the Apocalypse, had not been translated, probably because doubts still prevailed regarding their apostolical origin; in which case their absence from the primitive text of the Peshitto is a strong argument in favor of the great antiquity of that version.[1]

The author of the Peshitto is, of course, unknown; but there is no doubt, that if we take his work to be the oldest Syriac translation of the New Testament, we must admit that he was himself acquainted with the Jewish literature, and was most likely a Jewish convert.[2] In the Peshitto, as indeed in the other versions which can lay claim to be the oldest Syriac translation of the New Testament, the Greek φυλακτήρια (Matt. xxiii, 5) is rendered by the word *tèphlê*, which is plainly identical with the tephillîn of the Jews. The Peshitto translates the expression σαββάτου ὁδός (Acts i, 12) by "seven stadia," whereby it is clear that the translator knew the exact distance which is meant by the thoroughly Jewish expression, "a Sabbath-day's journey." Again, the word Ἕλληνες, when used to denote *the heathen*, is rendered into Syriac by "the Aramæans," i.e., by the precise name under which the Jews designated the heathen in the East.[3]

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[1] Luke xxii, 17, 18, and I John v, 7 were likewise absent from the original Peshitto.

[2] If the Peshitto is only a revision of an older Syriac Version, then it is the author of this older translation who is to be very likely considered as a Jewish convert.

[3] DUVAL, La Littérature Syriaque, p. 49, sq.

Long, indeed, the accurate, scholarly and smooth text of the Peshitto had been considered by all scholars as the primitive translation of the Syrian Church, when, in the middle of the nineteenth century, a rival text was discovered, for which its learned editor, Dr. Cureton,[1] one of the officers of the British Museum, did not hesitate to claim this glorious privilege. Among the many and valuable Syriac MSS. which reached England in 1842, from the Nitrian convent in Egypt, there were some eighty leaves of a copy of the Gospels, which Cureton recognized as belonging to a MS. of the fifth century, and which he published in 1858, under the title of "Remains of a Very Ancient Recension of the Four Gospels in Syriac." In his Preface, the learned editor contended, among other things, that the text recently discovered was that of a version made before the Peshitto ever existed, and that this latter version was a revision of the old Syriac, just as the Latin Vulgate was in part a revision of the old Latin.

It was only natural that such a novel opinion should be challenged, and in fact, a hot controversy still rages around it. As there is an undeniable and close relation between the more accurate text of the Peshitto, and the less satisfactory Curetonian text, the whole question is whether the Curetonian is a corruption of the Peshitto, or the Peshitto an improved revision of the Curetonian. Those who maintain that the Curetonian is the older text appeal chiefly to the following arguments: (1) the more polished, accurate, faithful and grammatical of the two versions—and the Peshitto richly deserves all this praise—is more likely to have been produced by a careful and gradual revision of one much its inferior in these respects, than the worse (viz., the Curetonian) to have originated in the mere corruption of the other; (2) the quotations found in Aphraates more nearly resemble the Curetonian Text; (3) in the text of the Peshitto there are clear marks of emendation, of the improving touch of a later hand; (4) finally, "the affinities of the Curetonian Version are with the older forms of the Greek Text (B, ℵ and D), while those of the Peshitto are with its later forms" (A or C).[1]

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[1] Hence the name of the Curetonian Syriac, which it bears.

Nothing daunted by these apparently unanswerable arguments, scholars who contend for the greater antiquity of the Peshitto meet them with considerable success, and show well in particular how the Curetonian Text bears marks of alteration and corruption.[2] Next, they call our attention to the fact that since the Peshitto has been received for centuries by the various Syrian communities, and has ever been believed by them to date back to the earliest times, its antiquity should not be rejected through mere conjecture, or because of a single copy of another version, whose past is utterly unknown, and which may contain readings accepted only in one district, or due to individual editors.

Perhaps the partisans of either opinion would have ceased arguing some time since, had not the recent discovery of a Syriac palimpsest of the Gospels rendered the question more intricate and added fuel to the old controversy. The discovery was made in 1892, by Mrs. Lewis of Cambridge (England), during her visit to the Monastery of St. Catherine, on Mount Sinai, the very place where Tischendorf found, in 1859, the old Greek copy of the Bible, to which he gave the name of the Codex Sinaiticus (ℵ). The photographs of the palimpsest, taken by Mrs. Lewis, were carefully examined upon her return by two Cambridge Orientalists, Mr. Burkitt and Prof. Bensly. The Syriac Text contained about three-fourths (the rest being undecipherable, or altogether lost) of the four Gospels, and was published in 1894, under the title of

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[1] KENYON, Our Bible and the Ancient MSS., p. 153, sq.

[2] For details, see SCRIVENER, vol. ii, p. 18, sqq., and the works he refers to.

"The Four Gospels in Syriac transcribed from the Sinaitic Palimpsest."[1] The learned editors had supposed at first that the newly-discovered text belonged to the same old Syriac Version as the Curetonian fragments. But a careful study of the palimpsest has proved beyond doubt that the Sinaitic MS. does not represent precisely the same text as the Curetonian Syriac, for the differences between them are much greater than, for instance, between any two ancient MSS. of the Peshitto or even of the Greek New Testament.[2] It has proved also that the two texts are not independent of each other, and this has naturally led scholars to inquire into their exact relation. About this difficult question experts still differ. Some, among whom Carl HOZLEY of Munich,* and F. G. KENYON of the British Museum, consider the Sinaitic Text as a form earlier than the Curetonian, whereas so prominent a Syriac scholar as Rubens DUVAL of the College of France, thinks that the Curetonian Text is the earlier edition of the "separate" Gospels, and that the Sinaitic is but a revision of it. The same scholars are also at variance when there is question of determining the precise relation between these two texts, and those of the Peshitto and of the Diatessaron of Tatian. As regards antiquity, the respective order of these texts is, according to Mr. Hozley: (1) the Sinaitic; (2) the Diatessaron; (3) the Curetonian; (4) the Peshitto. According to Fr. Duval, on the contrary, the Diatessaron and the Curetonian Text are practically contemporary editions, the one of the "combined," and the other of the "separate" Gospels, while the Sinaitic palimpsest contains a revision of the Curetonian made with the help of the Diatessaron, and the Peshitto a later recension of the Sinaitic.[1]

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[1] In 1896 Mrs. Lewis published, under the title of "Some Pages of the Four Gospels," other passages which she had discovered in a subsequent visit to Mount Sinai.

[2] Among other differences, we may mention here the absence from the Sinaitic MSS. of the last twelve verses of St. Mark, which are found in the Curetonian Text.

From the foregoing short account of the positions assumed by the leading Syriac scholars of the day, it is plain that the recent discoveries tend to disprove rather than to confirm the old view, which considered the Peshitto as the earliest Syriac translation of the New Testament.

For what concerns the two revisions of the Peshitto, which were made, the one in the beginning of the sixth, and the other in the first quarter of the seventh, century, and which are respectively known as the *Philoxenian* and the *Harkleian*, from their authors, the Bishops of Mabbug (in Eastern Syria), Philoxenus and Thomas of Harkel, the student is referred to F. H. SCRIVENER, vol. ii, p. 25, sqq.

§ 2. *The Coptic Versions.*[2]

1. Their Number and Date. The number of the *Coptic* versions of the Bible is naturally connected with that of the leading Coptic dialects which were in use at the time when these versions originated. It was formerly supposed that only three such dialects, viz., the *Bohairic* (from *Bohairah*, the Arabic name of Lower Egypt), the *Sahidic* (from *Es Said*, the Arabic name of Upper Egypt), and the *Fayoumic* (thus called from a fertile district of that name, west of the Nile, from which it is separated by a narrow strip of desert), should be recognized.[3] But very recent discoveries[4] have proved that two other distinct dialects should be admitted, viz., the *Middle Egyptian*, and the *Akhmimic* (from the ancient town of Akhmîm, in Upper Egypt). This therefore raises the number of the Coptic or Egyptian translations from three to five. It must be said, however, that the extant fragments of a version in the *Middle Egyptian* present a text which has been influenced to such an extent by the *Fayoumic* Version, that it is better to treat them as containing practically the same text, until further discoveries enable Coptic scholars to draw a more accurate distinction between the respective readings of these two translations.

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[1] Cfr. R. DUVAL, La Littérature Syriaque, p. 52, sqq., for a concise discussion of this question.

[2] *Coptic* is a language derived from the ancient Egyptian, through an admixture of Greek words and forms. Its name is not improbably a corrupted form of the word αἰγύπτιος, represented in Coptic by ΓΥΠΤΙΟϹ. Its alphabet contains thirty letters, twenty-four of which are taken from the Greek alphabet, while the other six are borrowed from the Egyptian demotic writing, and modified so as to be in harmony with the Greek forms used for Coptic writing.

[3] The names adopted here for these three Coptic dialects are those now more commonly received among Coptic scholars.

[4] For a summary of them see SCRIVENER, loc. cit., p. 103, sqq.

Of course the exact date at which these various versions originated is unknown. But it is highly probable that some of them, if not all, were made for the use of the numerous Christian communities which were founded in Egypt at a very early date, and which freely developed until the last decade of the second century The existence and universal use of vernacular translations in Egypt throughout the third century is a fact which all scholars, even those among them who are least favorable to Christianity, readily admit,[1] and which, by implication, proves that Coptic versions must have been made as early as the second century.

2. Coptic Versions of the Old Testament. The two more important versions of the Old Testament are (1) the *Bohairic*, current in Lower, or Northern, Egypt; and (2) the *Sahidic*, current in Upper, or Southern, Egypt. The former of these has alone come down to us in its entirety, apparently because, since the eleventh or twelfth century, it was the one adopted as the standard text for all Egypt; but the latter, which most likely before the eleventh century had been substituted in the place of the other translations (viz., the

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[1] For details, see SCRIVENER loc. cit., p. 97, sqq.; HYVERNAT, art. Coptes (Versions de la Bible, in VIGOUROUX' Dictionnaire de la Bible, col. 944, sqq., and CORNELY, Introductio, vol i, p. 374, sq.

Fayoumic, the Akhmimic and the Middle Egyptian), exists still in very considerable fragments. On the other hand, if, as scholars seem inclined to admit, the Akhmimic was the earliest dialect of the Coptic language, it is clear that a special importance should be attached to the few fragments of the Akhmimic translation, which were discovered some fifteen years ago.[1]

The Coptic translations of the Old Testament were no doubt made from the Septuagint, and, in consequence, their readings are directly available for the purpose of restoring the Greek Text, and only indirectly for ascertaining the Hebrew Text which lies behind the Septuagint. It is not improbable, however, that when these various versions were made, the old Septuagint Text of Daniel had already been replaced in the official text of the Christian Church by the translation of Theodotion, so that the Coptic versions of that prophet represent, down to the present day, not the old *Κοινὴ*, but the version of Theodotion. The other books were naturally translated from the old Septuagint edition then current in Egypt, and would therefore be especially serviceable in recovering its text had not the Coptic versions been subsequently altered to bring them into harmony with the Septuagint Text framed by Origen for his *Hexapla*. In this connection, the Sahidic copies of the book of Job, which were recently discovered, and to which reference was made in some preceding chapters, are of particular interest. They contain a text by about one-sixth shorter than the "Textus Receptus" Greek or Hebrew of the Old Testament, and therefore embody none, or at least but a few, of the additions made by Origen for his Hexaplar edition of the Septuagint. They consequently make us regret that the other books of this same version should have been subsequently revised from MSS. containing Origen's additions, and at the same time they lead us to hope that among the many MSS. and papyri which are being discovered in Egypt, copies of other books belonging to this or to other Coptic versions may likewise be found free from the Hexaplar interpolations.[1]

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[1] See, however, the remarks to the contrary, by A. C. Headlam, in Scrivener's, A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament, vol. ii, p. 126, sq.

3. **Coptic Versions of the New Testament.** As in connection with the Old Testament, the two Coptic versions of greater importance for the study of the New Testament are the *Bohairic*, which alone is extant in its entirety, and the *Sahidic*, which exists in a very large number of fragments. In these two, probably the oldest, versions of the New Testament, it does not seem that the Apocalypse was originally included, and it will be remembered that in the third century the canonical character of that book was questioned in Egypt. Of the two versions, the Bohairic is deemed better, both as regards the style of the translation and as regards the text rendered into Coptic. The translation of the former is "generally good and careful, so that it is easy to see what was the Greek which the translator had before him in any particular passage; . . . that of the Sahidic is generally less faithful, and its language is rougher and less polished." "The text, too, of the Bohairic is of an excellent type. Excluding passages which appear only in the later MSS., and which evidently were not in the original version, the Bohairic Text is mainly of a neutral or Alexandrian type, with no mixture of Western readings and little or nothing of Syrian. The doubt about the last twelve verses of St. Mark appears in the best MS., which gives a shorter alternative ending in the margin; otherwise all the Bohairic MSS. have the usual verses, 9 20. The passage John vii, 53–viii, 11, is omitted by all the best MSS."

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[1] Cfr. the conclusions of CIASCA, summed up by HYVERNAT, in VIGOUROUX' Dict. de la Bible, col. 948.

On the other hand, the text of the Sahidic "is less pure, including a considerable Western element, so that it must have been translated independently from the Greek and from MSS. belonging to the Western family. Thus it is reckoned by Dr. Hort as a not unfrequent ally of the chief representatives of that form of the text, the Codex Bezæ (D), and the old Latin and old Syriac versions."[1]

Of the other Coptic versions of the New Testament little can be said, for only a few fragments of them have hitherto been discovered or published. From these it is simply inferred (1), that the Akhmimic is not a primitive version from which the Bohairic and the Sahidic would be derived, and (2), that the Fayoumic and the Middle Egyptian translations form a distinct group by themselves.

It is much to be regretted that no truly critical edition of the Bohairic and Sahidic versions of the New Testament has as yet appeared. The great textual importance of the former is evident. It was made from Greek copies, older and apparently purer than any that have come down to us, and the closeness of its renderings could hardly be greater, both because the Coptic language contains a large admixture of Greek and because the translator did not hesitate simply to embody in his work a large number of words found in the original before him. In this respect the Sahidic Version is also of considerable, though of less, importance. It does not seem to represent either as old or as pure a text as the Bohairic; but its text bears a valuable testimony to the early alterations undergone by the Greek New Testament, and indeed points out the general line on which this gradual deformation went on. As regards the history of the Canon of the New Testament, both versions witness to the fact that at the time they were made considerable doubts prevailed concerning the canonical character of the Apocalypse. Indeed there is a general feeling among biblical scholars that the more the various Coptic versions are studied the greater their importance will appear.

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[1] F. G. KENYON, Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts, p. 161, sqq. For more details, see HYVERNAT, loc. cit.

§ 3. *The Ethiopic, Armenian and Gothic Versions.*

The other Eastern translations of Holy Writ, whose readings are often quoted by Textual Critics, are the *Ethiopic*, the *Armenian*, and the *Gothic* versions. We shall therefore briefly state what is commonly admitted about them.

I. The origin of the *Ethiopic* Version of the Bible is very obscure; but, as granted by all scholars, it was made later than either the Syriac or the Coptic translations. In fact, the earliest date to which it can be referred is about the middle of the fourth century, some time after Abba SALAMA (better known under the name of St. Frumentius) had carried the Gospel into Abyssinia. Most scholars, however, prefer to ascribe it to the end of the fifth century, when the Ethiopic Church was fully organized.[1]

The Ethiopic Version of the Old Testament was no doubt made from the Septuagint; but as its extant MSS. are of very late date, and have not yet been fully examined, it may still be questioned whether these MSS. represent the primitive Ethiopic translation, or a much later one, which appeared in the fourteenth century from the Arabic or Coptic.[2] The Ethiopic Version of the New Testament was made directly from the Greek, and, as that of the Old Testament, has come down to us in very late MSS., so that its testimony is of comparatively little value for the purposes of Textual Criticism.

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[1] See L. MÉCHINEAU, art. Ethiopienne (Version) de la Bible, in VIGOUROUX' Dictionnaire de la Bible, col. 2031, sq.

[2] Most scholars are of the mind that only a recension from the Coptic or Arabic, not a new version, was made in the fourteenth century (cfr. MÉCHINEAU, loc. cit., col. 2026).

II. We know a little more for certain about the origin of the *Armenian* Version of the Bible, and its MSS. are of a somewhat earlier date. Up to the invention of the Armenian alphabet by St. Mesrob (in 406 A.D.), the country to the east of Asia Minor and north of Mesopotamia, called Armenia, had no version of its own, and used the Syriac Scriptures in its public services. But as soon as the alphabet had been provided the patriarch St. SAHAK, and two of his principal disciples, started translating into Armenian the Holy Scriptures, and completed their work in 411. This first translation[1] was naturally made from the Syriac Version hitherto used in the sacred liturgy, and included both Testaments. It was revised about the year 433 with the help of "authentic Greek copies of Holy Writ," brought from Constantinople or Ephesus, and it underwent a second revision a little later by means of Alexandrine copies of the Sacred Scriptures. It is this latter work, clearly made from the Hexaplar Text of Origen for the Old Testament, since it contained its *obeli* and *asterisks*, which became and ever since remained the Old Testament translation of the Armenian Church.[2] The character of the Armenian Version of the New Testament is but little known. Naturally enough it represents a very mixed kind of text, for it was formed by the mixture of sources so different as the Alexandrine and Constantinopolitan MSS.[3]

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[1] A second translation was apparently made shortly afterwards, as we are told by the Armenian historian, Moses of Chorene, also from the Syriac (cfr. SCRIVENER, loc. cit., p. 149, sq.; HYVERNAT, Armenienne (Version) de la Bible, in VIGOUROUX' Dict. de la Bible, col. 1010.

[2] Biblical scholars do not consider it probable that the Armenian Version was revised at a later period, by means of the Latin Vulgate. It seems, however, that I John v, 7 was inserted in it from the Latin Version (cfr. CORNELY, Introductio, etc., vol. i, p. 387).

[3] One of the Armenian MSS. of the New Testament, written in 989, contains the last twelve verses of St. Mark, with a heading stating that they are "of the elder Aristion," who lived in the first century, and is spoken of by Papias, as having been a disciple of Our Lord. Most of the oldest Armenian MSS. of the Gospels do not contain Mark xvi, 9-20.

III. The *Gothic* Version was made for the Goths, while they were settled in Mœsia. It was the work of their Arian bishop Ulfilas (318–388), after he had invented or adapted an alphabet for their use. It comprised both the Old and New Testaments, and as internal evidence clearly proves, the Old Testament was rendered from the Septuagint, and the New from the original Greek. Only a few fragments remain of the Gothic Version, and the text which they present seems to belong, for the Old Testament to the Lucian Recension of the LXX, and for the New to the Syrian family of texts. The most famous MS. of this translation is the Codex *Argenteus*, now preserved in Upsal (Sweden), and containing fragments of our four Gospels in Gothic letters usually of silver, sometimes of gold : it goes back to the fifth or early sixth century.

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER XIV.

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CHAPTER XIV.

THE ANCIENT LATIN VERSIONS.

§ 1. *The Old Latin Version.*

1. Problems Connected with its Origin: The "Vetus Itala." Up to the middle of the eighteenth century all biblical scholars connected the origin of our Latin Vulgate with several Latin translations whose existence they referred to a date almost contemporary with the foundation of the Roman Church. They believed, chiefly on the authority of St. Augustine, that for the Old Testament, these Latin translations were made from the Septuagint in very early times, and that one of these was known as the *Italian* or *Itala*, from the place of its origin.[1] The first to question the number of these old versions was the learned P. Sabatier, O. S. B. († 1742), in a Preface to his collection of the extant fragments of the Latin versions before St. Jerome's time, and his view found favor with several writers after him. It was reserved, however, for Card. Wiseman († 1865), when yet a simple priest, to make this opinion for some time very prevalent among scholars. In his two letters on I John, v, 7, now found in the first volume of his *Essays*,[1] he took up and added to the arguments already advanced in favor of this opinion by the German critic Eichhorn († 1827), and he strenuously maintained that before St. Jerome, the Latin Church had only one translation of Holy Writ, that this version—now called the *Old Latin*, to distinguish it from the later version of St. Jerome—arose in North Africa, and that of the various revisions it underwent, the best, according to St. Augustine, was the one which this holy Doctor called the "*Itala*," from the place where it was made and where he became acquainted with it. The theory advocated by Wiseman was at first received with enthusiasm, and is now upheld by many able writers, among whom may be mentioned Gregory, Cornely, Trochon, White, S. Berger, Sanday, etc. As years went on, however, and as Wiseman's arguments were more closely examined, the old opinion of several primitive Latin translations gradually revived, and it is now admitted by such eminent scholars as Kaulen, Danko, Gams, Roensch, Ziegler, L. Delisle, Ul. Robert, Gaston Paris, Vigouroux, etc.

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[1] Cfr. St. AUGUSTINE, On Christian Doctrine, Book ii, chaps. xi, xv. The passage in chap. xi reads as follows: "Those who turned (*verterunt*) the Scriptures from Hebrew into Greek, can be counted, but the Latin interpreters (*interpretes*) are innumerable, for in the early days of the faith every one who got a Greek MS. into his hands, and thought he had some little acquaintance with each tongue, ventured to be an interpreter (*interpretari ausus est*)." In chap. xv we read, "Among these interpretations (whereby are meant real translations as proved by the use of the word in chap. xiv) the *Itala* is preferable to all the others, because it keeps closer to the words without prejudice to clearness of expression."

The principal arguments appealed to by the advocates of a single primitive Latin version which originated in Africa, are briefly as follows:

(1) There was apparently no need of a Latin version in Rome and Italy, in the early times of Christianity, for Greek was familiar there and in common use even among artisans and slaves. Greek was in fact the language of the Church. St. Mark's Gospel and St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans were written in Greek; "almost all the names which occur in the history of the Roman Church are Greek (as Cletus, Anacletus, Soter, Eleutherius, Evaristus, Telesphorus, etc.), and several of these were in fact Greeks by birth, and their

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[1] These letters appeared first in The Catholic Magazine in 1832-3.

election to the pontificate indicates the preponderance of that nation in the Roman Church,[1] and the acquaintance of their flock with the Greek language; but this is much better demonstrated by the fact that, for the first two centuries, and even later, we have hardly a single instance of an ecclesiastical writer, belonging to the Italian Church, composing his works in any language but Greek."[2] On the other hand, at the beginning of Christianity, Latin was the language of North Africa, and no early ecclesiastical writer belonging to Proconsular Africa (neither Tertullian, nor Cyprian, nor Lactantius, nor Minucius Felix, etc.), ever used the Greek language in the composition of his various works. Again, in the African Church, Latin was certainly in use for liturgical and homiletical purposes. The origin of a translation of the Holy Scriptures should therefore be connected not with Italy, but with North Africa, where alone it was practically necessary.

(2) An examination of the words and phrases in what remains to us of the old Latin Version, and a comparison with the peculiar Latin forms in use among the early African writers, prove that the primitive Latin Version was actually made in Africa. Wiseman[3] quotes, as examples of these African idioms in the old Latin translation, the use of deponent verbs with a passive signification (promereor, ministrari, etc.); the future of verbs of the fourth conjugation in *ibo* (partibor, metibor, etc.); the frequent recurrence of verbs compounded with *super* not found in the classics (supergaudeo, superaffluens, superexalto, etc.), and of verbs in *ifico* (mortifico, clarifico, magnifico, etc.); non-classical grammatical constructions, as *dominor* with a genitive, *zelo*

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[1] The epitaphs of the Popes in the Catacombs are invariably in Greek.

[2] WISEMAN, Essays, vol. i, p. 43, London, Chas. Dolman, 1853. Only two writers belonging to Italy, viz., Victor († 197) and Apollonius, were known to St. Jerome as having used Latin in their works before Tertullian.

[3] Loc. cit., p. 48, sqq.

with an accusative; changes of tenses, as imperfect for pluperfect, etc.

(3) From a comparison of the different texts of the old Latin Version that have come down to us, it is clear that, on the one hand, they have much in common, both in the underlying Greek original and in language, and that, on the other hand, their variations are not more important than those which exist between the various recensions of the Septuagint. It seems therefore that these different texts do not point to actually different translations, altogether independent of one another, but rather to one and the same primitive old version which has supplied what is common to the several forms of text, while it has itself undergone important changes due to more or less thorough revisions.

In answer to these arguments, the advocates of the multiplicity of the old Latin versions affirm that none of them is strictly conclusive. Not the first, for even at Rome the popular language—the language consequently of most Christians—would probably as much require a Latin version as the Christians at Carthage. "The inscriptions at Pompeii and Herculaneum are almost without exception in Latin, and De Rossi's collection of Christian inscriptions in the Lateran Museum leads to the same conclusion."[1] Nor is the second argument conclusive, for it has been shown to evidence that every supposed Africanism can be met with parallels from Christian and heathen writers who had nothing to do with Africa.[2] Nor is the last argument of greater cogency, for "while many of the differences noticed between the extant texts of the old Latin Version are fully compatible with the supposition that the African was the parent of the other texts, other differences, not so easily accounted for by a process of revision, afford some justification for the alternative view that Italy had an indigenous version of its own, not less original than the African. The distinctively African renderings which occur not unfrequently in some of the best European documents may be explained in conformity with either view; as survivors from an earlier state, or as aliens introduced by mixture." [1]

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[1] The Catholic Dictionary, art. Vulgate,,p. 851.

[2] This is the case with such Christian writers as the Latin translator of the works of St. Irenæus, the author of the Canon of Muratori, etc., and with such pagan authors as Plautus, Velleius Paterculus, Quintilian, etc.

Having thus shown the unconclusive character of the arguments adduced by their opponents, the advocates of the multiplicity of the primitive Latin versions appeal to the clear testimony of St. AUGUSTINE already quoted, and to the somewhat less distinct expressions of St. HILARY of Poitiers († 367), and of TERTULLIAN († ab. 240), as a traditional argument of the greatest value in favor of their position.[2] They also claim that the manner in which St. Augustine describes the early origin of several Latin translations, viz., through individual and successive efforts, is in perfect harmony with what we know of the primitive condition of the Christian churches of Rome and Italy. As these churches used Greek in their liturgy, the making of vernacular translations for the public at large was naturally left to the efforts of private individuals, and was no less naturally carried out by men, who, because they belonged to the poorer classes of society, had deeply felt the need of Latin translations, while they were not able to give anything but a close and rude rendering of the text before them. The language they used was, of course, the *lingua rustica*, that is, the Latin language of the common people whether in Italy or in North Africa, and if the readings of the later Latin texts are more elegant, this may be ascribed to the fact that when one of the many current translations was selected for public use in church, its style was improved so as to render it worthy of this higher purpose.

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[1] WESTCOTT and HORT, The New Testament in the Original Greek, vol. ii, p. 79.

[2] St. HILARY, on Ps. liv, 1; TERTULLIAN, Against Marcion, Book ii, chap. ix.

Finally, it may be argued, that since, as we believe, "it is admitted that there was more than one version of Tobias, I and II Machabees and Baruch,[1] the many partisans of several primitive Latin versions can hardly be blamed for contending that more than one version of the other books of the Bible, which were of incomparably greater importance (historically, liturgically, spiritually, etc.) to the faithful at large, must likewise have been made.

2. Importance and Principal Characteristics of the Old Latin Version. But while recent scholars are at variance concerning the precise origin of the old Latin Version, they all agree upon its manifold importance. All admit that it goes back, at the latest, to the second part of the second century,[2] that is, to a period much older than our most ancient MSS. of the New Testament, to a time even anterior to the various recensions of the LXX by Origen, Lucian and Hesychius, so that did we possess it in its entirety and primitive purity, it would prove a most valuable witness to the textual condition of the New Testament Greek, and of the Septuagint Version at that early date.[3] All grant that it included not only the proto- but also the deutero-canonical books and parts of books of the Old Testament, so that its testimony has considerable importance in the history of the Canon of Holy Writ. All admit also that its Latinity, however rude or otherwise defective, has exercised a great influence upon the renderings of the Vulgate, and through the Vulgate upon our modern translations of Holy Writ and ecclesiastical language; and there is no doubt that its non-classical forms and expressions form a very good introduction to the *lingua rustica* of the second century.

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[1] The Catholic Dictionary, p. 849.

[2] This is proved by the manner in which Tertullian (ab. 200) speaks of the Latin Version then in use (cfr. Against Praxeas, chap. v; Against Marcion, Book v, chap. iv; etc.

[3] We possess the old Latin Version of the New Testament, complete. Of its 38 extant MSS., 28 contain the Gospels, 4 the Acts, 5 the Catholic Epistles, 8 the Pauline Epistles, and 3 the Apocalypse. The principal among them are: for the Gospels, the Codices *Vercellensis* (fourth cent.), *Veronensis*, and *Palatinus* (fourth or fifth cent.); for the Acts, the Codex *Bezæ*, the Codex *Laudianus*; for the Pauline Epistles, the Codex *Claromontanus*. These MSS. are indicated by the small italic letters of the alphabet. Of the old Latin version of the Old Testament we are far from possessing a complete text. Beside those deutero-canonical books and parts of books of the Old Latin translation which have been simply embodied in our Vulgate, we have only the Psalter, in a slightly altered form; Job, Esther, the Pentateuch, Josue and most of the book of Judges and fragments of other books, preserved in some ancient MSS. The best edition of what remains of the old Latin Version is that of P. Sabatier, already referred to, to which should be added the edition of the Lyons Pentateuch by Ul. Robert, and of the fragments of III and IV Kings by J. Haupt. For further information, see Smith, Bib. Dict. art. Vulgate; Driver, Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel, p. liii; La Revue Biblique, for January, 1896, p. 138.

One leading feature of the old Latin Version remains to be mentioned, and it is one which makes it all the more regrettable that this oldest Western translation has not come down to us in its entirety and primitive purity.[1] Made from the *Κοινὴ ἔκδοσις* for the Old Testament, and from the current Greek Text for the New, it rendered the text with that "exact literality which was not confined to the most minute observance of order and the accurate reflection of the words of the original: in many cases the very forms of Greek construction were retained in violation of Latin usage. A few examples of these singular anomalies will convey a better idea of the absolute certainty with which the Latin commonly indicates the text which the translator had before him, than any general statements: Matt. iv, 13, habitavit in Capharnaum *maritimam;* id. 15, terra Nephtalim *viam* maris; id. 25, ab Jerosolymis . . . et trans Jordanem; v, 22, reus erit *in gehennam* ignis; vi, 19, ubi tinea et *comestura* exterminat. Mark xii, 31, *majus horum præceptorum* aliud non est. Luke x, 19, nihil *vos* nocebit. . . . It is obvious that there was a continual tendency to alter expressions like these, and in the first age of the version, it is not improbable that the continual Græcism which marks the Latin texts of D_1 (Cod. Bezæ), and E_2 (Cod. Laudianus) had a wider currency than it could maintain afterwards."[1] It is likewise clear, that, did we possess such close rendering of the pre-Hexaplar Text of the Septuagint, and of the second century Greek Text of the New Testament, it would be a comparatively easy task to reconstruct both the one and the other, and thus reach with perfect certainty a text much nearer to the one used by the Apostles, than we can ever obtain by any other critical means.

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[1] In his Preface to the Gospels addressed to Pope Damasus, St. Jerome speaks thus of the corruption of the old Latin Version in the fourth century: "Si latinis exemplaribus fides est adhibenda, respondeant quibus: tot enim sunt exemplaria pæne quot codices. Sin autem veritas est quærenda de pluribus, cur non ad Græcam originem revertentes, ea quæ vel a vitiosis interpretibus male reddita, vel a præsumptuosis imperitis emendata perversius, vel a librariis dormitantibus aut addita sunt, aut mutata corrigimus . . . Magnus in nostris codicibus (Evangeliorum) error inolevit, dum quod in eadem re alius Evangelista plus dixit, in alio quia minus putaverint, addiderunt. Vel dum eumdem sensum alius aliter expresserit, ille qui unum e quatuor primum legerat, ad ejus exemplum ceterosque existimaverit emendandos. Unde accidit ut apud nos mixta sint omnia" (Migne, P. L., vol. xxix, col. 526, sq.). In like manner, in his Pref. to Josue, he writes: "Maxime cum apud Latinos tot sint exemplaria, quot codices; et unusquisque pro arbitrio suo vel addiderit, vel subtraxerit quod ei visum est" (Migne, ibid., vol. xxviii, col. 463). (See also the words of St. Augustine writing to St. Jerome, Migne, ibid., vol. xxii, col. 834.)

§ 2. *The Latin Vulgate.*

1. Its Author. The celebrated reviser of the old Latin and author of the new Latin Version, or *Latin Vulgate*, was *Eusebius Hieronymus*, more commonly known under the name of St. JEROME. He was born at Stridon, a town near Aquileia, but belonging to Pannonia, about the year 346. From his early youth he was a vigorous student under his father Eusebius, who was a Christian, and age diminished nothing of his zeal for learning. When about seventeen years old he was sent to complete his education at Rome, where he became acquainted with Greek philosophy and Roman literature. Christian Rome exercised great influence upon his mind: he speaks in his Commentary on Ezechiel, of the feelings of piety with which he visited the tombs of the martyrs in the Catacombs, and we know that it was during his sojourn in that city that he received baptism, while Liberius was pope, that is, before the year 366.

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[1] WESTCOTT, in Smith, Bib. Dict., art. Vulgate. For an example illustrating the same feature in connection with the Old Test., see DE WETTE, Introd. to the Old Testament, vol. i, p. 187 (Engl. Transl. by Th. Parker).

At the close of his studies in Rome, he determined to visit Gaul, and it is at this time that he made the acquaintance of Rufinus, subsequently his rival and bitter opponent. After a short stay in Gaul, St. Jerome lived some years in Aquileia, in the company of talented young men, such as the presbyter Chromatius (afterwards Bishop of Aquileia), Rufinus, Bonosus, Heliodorus (afterwards Bishop of Altinum), etc., who were all devoted, like himself, to sacred studies and to the ascetic life. When this company of friends was suddenly broken up—in the beginning of 373—St. Jerome travelled through Thrace, Pontus, Bithynia, Galatia, Cappadocia and Cilicia, to Antioch, where a dream changed the tenor of his life. Christ appeared to him, and severely rebuked him for being no Christian, but a Ciceronian, who preferred worldly literature to Christ.

Withdrawing from Antioch, St. Jerome retired to the wastes of Chalcis, southeast of the Syrian capital, and led there from 374 to 379, the hard life of the monks of that desert, after which he returned to Antioch, where Bishop Paulinus ordained him presbyter. Thence he went to Constantinople (in 380) to sit at the feet of Gregory Nazianzen, and after the resignation of that holy bishop (in 381) he went to Rome—where Pope Damasus desired his presence,—in the train of the Bishops Paulinus of Antioch and Epiphanius of Constantia (in Cyprus).

St. Jerome's sojourn in Rome lasted till the death of his friend and patron, St. Damasus († 384) and was devoted to scriptural study and the advancement of monastic life. A company of noble and pious women, among whom may be mentioned Paula, Julia Eustochium, Paulina, Marcella, etc., followed his spiritual guidance and listened eagerly to his expositions of the sacred books. Then it was also that Pope Damasus bade him revise the Psalter and apparently the whole New Testament. But if Jerome had many and devoted friends in Rome, he had also violent enemies; and these, upon the death of Damasus, practically compelled him to leave the city. Bidding therefore a final farewell to Rome, he started for the holy land, spent a short time in Alexandria, to profit by the lessons of Didymus, and finally settled down in Bethlehem (autumn of 386). A monastery was built, of which Jerome became the head, and a convent over which Paula, who had accompanied her teacher to Palestine, presided. Here this great scholar spent the last thirty-four years of his life (386–420), engaged in devotional and literary labors, but finding also time to share in the ecclesiastical disputes of the day.

Of the numerous writings of St. Jerome, there are only a few whose perusal would not prove beneficial to the student of Holy Writ, for even from his historical, ascetical and polemical works, useful information concerning the Bible may often be gathered. Most valuable, however, in this respect, are those writings of the holy Doctor which have the Sacred Scriptures for their direct object. Thus, many of his *Letters* are real commentaries on particular passages, usually in the form of questions and answers. The principal among these are "to Amandus (Epist. 55) on the last verse of St. Matt. vi; to Marcella (Epist. 59) in answer to questions on scriptural passages relating to the judgment and the heavenly state; to Fabiola (Ep. 64) on the dress of the high priest; to Principia (Ep. 65) on Ps. xliv; to Vitalis (Epist. 72) on the difficulties of the chronology of some of the Jewish kings; to Evangelus (Ep. 73) on Melchisedech; . . . and the elaborate letter to Sunnias and Fretela, two presbyters in the country of the Getæ, in answer to their question on the text of Scripture, in which the reasons are plainly given which induced him to leave the LXX and to translate direct from the Hebrew."[1] Of greater importance still are his *translations* of the Commentaries of Origen on Jeremias, Ezechiel, the Canticle of Canticles, and the Gospel of St. Luke,[2] and his own *original commentaries* on Ecclesiastes, Isaias, Jeremias (chaps. i–xxxii), Ezechiel, the Minor Prophets, St. Matthew's Gospel, and the Epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians, Titus and Philemon. His work "on Hebrew proper names," and his translation of Eusebius' book "on the sites and names of the Hebrew places," which were intended to illustrate Holy Writ, laid the foundation of the science of Biblical Archæology.

But all these writings, however valuable, cannot compare in importance with his work as a reviser and translator of the Sacred Scriptures. As in the second part of the fourth century, the text of the old Latin Version used in the public services of the Church, had, through mistakes of transcription and other causes,[3] become extremely unsatisfactory. St. Jerome undertook, at the request of Pope Damasus, what he terms the "*pius labor, sed periculosa præsumptio*" of its revision.[4] He began with the New Testament, which he revised from old Greek MSS., correcting most likely, as he tells us he did for the Gospels, "only those passages whose rendering was contrary to the sense of the original."[5] The part of the Old Testament which claimed first his attention was naturally the book of Psalms, because of its constant use in the liturgy, and because also of the greater alterations it had undergone under the pen of careless transcribers. He revised it at Rome, in 383, from the *Κοινὴ* of the Septuagint "rather hastily" (*cursim*), as he puts it, and his work, introduced by St. Damasus into the Roman liturgy, received the name of *Psalterium Romanum*.[1] Subsequently, (about 388) having become acquainted with the *Hexaplar* Text of Origen, he again revised the Psalter, preserving in his text the obeli and asterisks, and this second recension of the book of Psalms, which is called the *Psalterium Gallicanum*, because of the currency it soon obtained in Gaul, is the one now embodied in the Roman Breviary and in the Latin Vulgate.[2] In the same manner did he proceed gradually with all the books of the Old Testament, correcting the old Latin Version by the *Hexaplar* Text, but, with the exception of the book of Job, this work has all been lost by the treachery of some person to whom he had committed the MS.[3]

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[1] FREMANTLE, in Smith's Dictionary of Christian Biography, art. Hieronymus, vol. iii, p. 38.

[2] There is also a translation of Origen's homilies on Isaias, attributed to St. Jerome.

[3] These various causes are enumerated by St. Jerome in his Preface to the Gospels addressed to St. Damasus, and already quoted.

[4] Preface to the Gospels, MIGNE, Patr. Lat., vol. xxix, col. 525.

[5] "Quæ ne multum a lectionis latinæ consuetudine discreparent, ita calamo temperavimus, ut his tantum quæ sensum videbantur mutare correctis, reliqua manere pateremur ut fuerant" (Pref. to the Gospels, MIGNE, ibid.). This correction of the New Testament was made in Rome between 382 and 385.

While St. Jerome was engaged in revising the old Latin translation, he began a new version directly from the Hebrew. To this arduous work he had been repeatedly urged by many of his friends, and in undertaking it he not only desired to comply with their wishes, but also intended to help Christians in their controversies with the Jews.[4] During fifteen years (from 391 to 404) he issued at different intervals the translation of one or several books, accordingly as was requested of him by his friends, so that it is difficult at the present day to give the exact date and order of the appearance of its various parts. His activity seems to have been at its maximum during the years 391 and 392, for during that short period he published his translation of no less than twenty-two books, viz., all the Prophets (except Baruch), the two books of Samuel, the two books of Kings, Job and the Psalms.[1] About the same time, if not indeed in 392, he rendered from the Aramaic, Tobias and Judith. Then followed the translation of Esdras and Nehemias, of the two books of Chronicles, and of the Solomonic writings (Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticle). Lastly, between 398 and 404, he published his version of the Pentateuch, Esther, Josue, Judges and Ruth.

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[1] It is the text of the Psalter still in use in the Church of St. Peter, in Rome.

[2] The two Psalters (Roman and Gallican) are found in parallel columns in MIGNE, Pat. Lat., vol. xxix.

[3] "Pleraque enim prioris laboris fraude cujusdam amisimus" (Epist. 134; MIGNE, Patr. Lat., vol. xxii, col. 1162.)

[4] Cfr. Pref. to Isaias (MIGNE, ibid., vol. xxviii, col. 774); Epist. to Augustine, 112 (MIGNE, ibid., vol. xxii, col. 929). See, also, the texts quoted by DE WETTE, Introd. to the O. T., vol. i, p. 257, sqq. (Engl. Transl).

There can be no doubt that Jerome was the most competent man of his day for the work of a biblical translator. He was no novice in the art of translating when he undertook his version directly from the Hebrew, and his knowledge of the sacred tongue was indeed considerable for his time. Willingly did he avail himself of the learning and exegetical traditions of the Jewish rabbis, and made the most of the labors of those who had preceded him in the great work of rendering the Hebrew Text. He was familiar with the scenes and customs alluded to in Holy Writ, and, despite the opposition and even calumny which his labors had to meet, he unflinchingly carried out the great work for which Providence had fitted him. "His method was, first, never to swerve needlessly from the original; second, to avoid solecisms; third, at all risks, even that of introducing solecisms, to give the true sense;[2] and these are unquestionably sound principles which a translator should ever bear in mind. Thus, then, St. Jerome was far better equipped than any man of his time for his work as a translator. Nay, more, Westcott has not feared to say that "he (Jerome) probably alone for 1,500 years possessed the qualifications necessary for producing an original version of the Scriptures for the use of the Latin churches."[1]

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[1] This direct translation of the Psalms from the Hebrew Text was never embodied in the Latin Vulgate.

[2] SMITH, Dictionary of Christian Biography, vol. iii, p. 48. For the passages of St. Jerome, in which he himself describes his own method, see DE WETTE, loc. cit., pp. 260–262; TROCHON, Introduction Générale, tom. i, p. 431, footnotes.

2. Character of the Latin Vulgate. If we briefly sum up the details given above concerning the work of St. Jerome as a reviser and translator of the sacred books, we shall find that our present Latin Vulgate is a composite version, which, in almost its entirety, bears the impress of St. Jerome's genius, and which consequently may be justly ascribed to him as his work. Viewed from this standpoint, our Latin Vulgate has three component parts. The first part is distinctively St. Jerome's work, inasmuch as it is no other than his own translation of the proto-canonical books of the Old Testament (except that of the Psalter, as already stated), which he rendered from the Hebrew, and of the books of Tobias and Judith, which he translated from the Aramaic. The second component part of our Latin Version can also be referred to him, for it includes those books which he revised from the Greek, viz., the *Psalterium Gallicanum* corrected on the *Hexaplar* Text of the Septuagint, and all the books of the New Testament revised from the original Greek. Only the third, and least extensive part of the Vulgate, does not really belong to St. Jerome, for it is made up of the deutero-canonical books of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, and I, II Machabees, and of the deutero-canonical portions of Esther and Daniel, with which he distinctly declined to have anything to do,[2] and which nevertheless were later embodied in the Vulgate, such as they had been preserved in the old Latin Version.

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[1] SMITH, Bib. Dic., art. Vulgate, vol. iv, p. 3459 (Amer. edit.).

[2] The attitude of St. Jerome towards the deutero-canonical books of the Old Testament has already been examined. See chap. ii, § 3.

As might naturally be expected, the several parts of such composite work as the Latin Vulgate, are not all of the same critical and literary value. The critical data afforded by the New Testament, although generally regarded as far superior to those which are supplied by the Old Testament, are themselves of a mixed character, on account of the two elements of which the Latin translation is made up. On the one hand, the *old Latin Version*, which it reproduces substantially, is a most valuable witness in the history of the New Testament Greek, because it goes back to the second century; while, on the other hand, the *corrections* made in it by St. Jerome on countless points, represent simply the text of Greek MSS. of the fourth century. As regards the translation of the Old Testament, it should be remembered that the Hebrew Text accessible to St. Jerome was practically identical with that which has come down to us, for although the Massoretes are much later in date than Jerome, yet the text which they stereotyped had been transmitted to them without considerable changes, since the second century after Christ. Hence it naturally follows that the text of the Latin Vulgate of the Old Testament, even where it renders most closely the original Hebrew, is of comparatively little help for the correction of the Hebrew *Textus Receptus*, since it seldom, if ever, allows us to recover Hebrew readings which go back to the period before the Christian era. It is true that many times, and indeed in some very important passages, our Latin Vulgate seems to point to a text different from the Massoretic; this is not usually, however, a proof that St. Jerome had really before him a reading no longer found in our Hebrew Bible. Time and again the divergences, when closely examined, must be accounted for by the freedom which the holy Doctor allows himself in rendering the sacred text, and which is unquestionably greater than he is himself willing to acknowledge when he writes in his preface to the books of Kings, that " he is altogether unconscious of any wilful departure from the *Hebraica Veritas.*"

Thus his desire to avoid what he considers useless repetitions in the Hebrew narrative betrays him into a complete suppression of important particulars, as may be seen in Gen. xxxix, 19; and in the following example from Gen. xl, 12, sq., where practically two entire verses are expunged:

HEBREW TEXT:	VULGATE:
V. 12. Et adduces Aaron et filios ejus ad ostium tabernaculi conventus et lavabis eos aqua;	V. 12. Applicabisque Aaron et filios ejus ad fores tabernaculi testimonii, et lotos aquâ
13. Et indues Aaron vestibus sanctis et unges eum, et sanctificabis eum, et sacerdotio fungetur mihi;	13. indues sanctis vestibus ut ministrent mihi et unctio eorum in sacerdotium sempiternum proficiat.
14. Et filios ejus adduces et indues eos tunicis;	
15. Et unges eos sicut unxisti patrem eorum et sacerdotio fungentur mihi: et erit, ut sit illis ista unctio in sacerdotium sempiternum in generationes eorum.	

Again, the hurried manner in which he made his translation of Tobias and Judith—devoting to the former only a single day, and to the latter, part of a night (*una lucubratiuncula*)[1]—explains how our version of Judith is indeed very free, and that of Tobias seems at times to be an abridgment rather than a translation of the original, long since lost, but presumably conformed to the Greek of the LXX, and to the old Latin Version.

But by far the most fruitful source in the Vulgate of departures from the Hebrew is the anxiety of St. Jerome to set forth more clearly a certain number of passages which were commonly considered as Messianic prophecies. We have an example of this in his translation of the prophetic words of the dying patriarch Jacob to his son Juda in Gen. xlix, 10, as may be seen by a comparison of the Vulgate with a literal translation of the Hebrew:

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[1] Cfr. Pref. to Tobias, MIGNE, Pat. Lat., vol. xxix, col. 26; Pref. to Judith, MIGNE, ibid., col. 39. The version of the Solomonic writings was also the work of only three days (MIGNE, ibid., vol. xxviii, col. 1241).

VULGATE:	HEBREW:
Non auferetur sceptrum de Juda,	Non recedet sceptrum de Juda
Et dux de femore ejus,	Nec baculus (the ruler's staff) de inter pedes ejus,
Donec veniat qui mittendus est,	Donec veniat cujus est,
Et ipse erit expectatio gentium.	Et ipsi obedientia gentium.

Most of the differences of meaning noticeable in this passage must indeed be traced to the old Latin Version [1] from which St. Jerome thought it prudent many times not to depart; but the reference to the Messias so distinctly expressed in the clause "donec veniat qui mittendus est" and which could be obtained only by an arbitrary reading of the Hebrew Text, must unquestionably be ascribed to him.

The prophecy of the *Seventy Weeks* of Daniel, is another case in point. By adding a few words and modifying the meaning of others, he gave it a predictive distinctness hardly borne out by the original.[2] This is also the case with many passages of Isaias, the Messianic meaning of which he considerably altered by what he pretends to be but a slight change in the signification of words. Thus the clause "erit *sepulchrum* ejus gloriosum" in chap. xi, 10, means really in the Hebrew: "His *dwelling-place* shall be glorious," and in no way refers to the sepulchre of the Messias ; again, in the second part, xlv, 8, we find "nubes pluant *justum*, aperiatur terra et germinet *Salvatorem*" in which the concrete terms "justum" and "Salvatorem" convey to the Christian reader a meaning certainly more definite than the abstract words "justitia," "salus" by which the Hebrew should be rendered.[1]

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[1] Cfr. MIGNE, Patr. Lat., vol. xxiv, col. 149, where St. Jerome quotes the rendering of the old Latin Version as follows: "Non deficiet princeps ex Juda, neque dux de femoribus ejus, donec veniat cui repositum est, et ipse erit expectatio gentium."

[2] For details in connection with this prediction of Daniel (ix, 24-27) cfr. CORLUY, Spicilegium Dogmatico-Biblicum, vol. i, pp. 474-513; A. A. BEVAN, A Short Commentary on the Book of Daniel, p. 153, sqq.

It must even be said that he went still further, and gave to a few passages a Messianic character which they never possessed in the original, as for example, when he renders Isaias xvi, 1, by "Emitte agnum, Domine, dominatorem terræ, de petra deserti, ad montem filiæ Sion," it is clear that he inserts an allusion to the *future Lamb of God* which is unwarranted by the Hebrew. In this passage, the prophet simply tells the king of the pastoral country of Moab so rich in flocks (Numb. xxxii, 4) and who formerly sent lambs as a tribute to Samaria (IV Kings iii, 4) that he should send them henceforth to Jerusalem. The exact translation of the verse is therefore: "Send ye the lambs of (due to) the ruler of the land, from Petra, which is toward the wilderness, to the mountain of the daughter of Sion."

We might also point out a certain number of passages in which the translation assumes a dogmatic or moral bearing which seems to be outside that of the original. The most striking is to be found in the rendering of the well-known passage of Job: "Scio quod Redemptor meus vivit," etc. (xix, 25–27), commonly appealed to as a proof of the resurrection of the body. The proof indeed is clear enough, the version of St. Jerome once admitted. But as many Catholic scholars think, that version is neither literal nor accurate. We place side by side the rendering of St. Jerome and the translation made by Corluy, S. J. :

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[1] Cfr. CORNELY, Introductio, vol. i, p. 427.

VULGATE :	HEBREW TEXT :
Scio quod *Redemptor* meus vivit,	Novi *vindicem* meum viventem
Et *in* novissimo *die de terra* surrectur*us sum ;*	Et *postremus super pulverem surget*
Et *rursum* circumda*bor* pelle mea,	Et *postea* pelle mea circumdab*untur* *hæc* (corporis mei membra)
Et *in* carne mea videbo Deum meum	Et *ex* carne mea intuebor Deum
Quem visurus sum *ego ipse*,	Quem ego intuebor *mihi*
Et oculi mei conspecturi sunt et non alius :	Et oculi mei videbunt et non alius :
Reposita est hæc spes mea in sinu meo.	*Defecerunt renes mei* in sinu meo

Thus in the Hebrew, it is *God* Himself,—the *defender* (the Gô'el) not the *Redeemer*—who is proclaimed as living ; it is *He*,—not *Job*—who will rise up, that is, appear,—not *on the last day*—but at the close of the ordeal in defence of His servant who then, restored to health, will as it were behold Him with his own eyes. The hope here expressed by Job seems therefore (as was realized centuries ago by St. John Chrysostom) to be an anticipation of what the book describes in its last chapters, viz., the apparition of God, whom the patriarch declares that "he *sees now* with his own eyes" (xlii, 5),—who pronounces Himself in favor of Job,—and who restores to him health and all manner of earthly blessings (xlii, 7, sq.).[1]

These are indeed serious defects in our translation of Holy Writ, and they should be borne in mind, when we endeavor to determine the extent to which this official version of the Church corresponds truly to the original text. But they should not make us lose sight of the real excellence of St. Jerome's translation considered as a whole. "It is admitted on all hands that Jerome's version from the

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[1] For a detailed discussion of the passage, see CORLUY loc. cit., vol. i, pp. 278-296 ; LESÊTRE, Le Livre de Job, p. 126, sqq. ; A. B. DAVIDSON, The Book of Job, p. 142, sqq. ; and Appendix, p. 291, sqq. ; Jahn, Introduction to the Old Testament, p. 468, sq. (Engl. Transl.).

Hebrew is a masterly work, and that there is nothing like it or near it in antiquity. A perfect work it could not be, and this for the very reasons which may well increase admiration for the measure of success which Jerome actually reached. Few advantages were open to him which are denied to modern scholars. Hebrew had ceased for centuries to be a living tongue, and Jerome, moreover, had to learn it orally; there was no such thing as a Hebrew grammar, or a dictionary, or a concordance. The comparative philology of the Semitic languages, often the only key to the meaning of Hebrew words, is the creation of modern times; and Jerome knew no other Semitic language except Chaldee (Aramaic), and that very imperfectly." [1]

Of the many literary merits of the Latin Vulgate, we shall simply mention here (1) its general elegance, which is most remarkable, rendering as it does almost every Hebrew word, while it flows in Latin sentences from which the stiff construction of the original usually disappears. For example, St. Jerome wrote "Elevatis itaque Lot oculis vidit . . . ," instead of *et* elevavit Lot oculos suos *et* vidit . : . ; [2]" (2) its usual clearness of expression, often due to the fact that the translator renders, as he says, "rather the sense than the words," and even adopts popular ways of speaking in vogue among his contemporaries; [3] (3) its general faithfulness in giving the sense of the original, although St. Jerome had before him only an unpointed text, and felt repeatedly bound to abide by the established current version of the time, in order to avoid offending the prejudices of its admirers.[4]

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[1] The Catholic Dictionary, art. Vulgate, p. 855.

[2] Gen. xiii, 10; cfr. also xxxiii, 1; Exod. xix, 7; Levit. xxiv, 18, etc., etc.

[3] Cfr. VIGOUROUX, Manuel Biblique, vol. i, n. 135.

[4] In connection with passages where he thus follows the rendering of the old Latin Version against his own independent judgment, it must be said that St. Jerome sometimes corrects his translation in his Commentaries.

3. History of the Latin Vulgate. Despite its literary excellence and manifold superiority over existing translations of Holy Writ, the work of St. Jerome was received at first with great opposition. From Jerome's letters and prefaces to the various parts of his translation, we learn that prejudice, ignorance, envy [1]— and also nobler motives, such as the fear, apparently well-founded, that St. Augustine entertained lest "the public reading of something new and opposed to the authority of the Septuagint would disturb the Christians whose hearts and ears had been accustomed to that translation which was even approved of by the Apostles themselves," [2]—induced many to depreciate his work, or to prevent its public use in church. In vain did he argue that he had not made a new translation to do away altogether with his former revision of the LXX; that the LXX themselves were far from having produced a faultless version of Holy Writ; that the Jews could not help recognizing the great accuracy of his renderings; that the very detractors of his work read it in private, a clear proof of its real value; that even a Greek bishop, Sophronius, had so well realized the superiority of the new Latin translation that he had rendered into Greek the Psalms and the Prophets, etc. All these and other such arguments went for very little with men blinded by ignorance or prejudice,[3] and only a few of Jerome's contemporaries,—among whom may be mentioned Lucinius, a Spanish bishop, and apparently also St. Augustine in his later writings,—did justice to the excellent work of the solitary of Bethlehem. It has indeed been supposed that had St. Jerome been less bitter in his denunciations of his adversaries, whom he calls at times "fools," "stupid fellows," "two-legged donkeys," etc., the power of his arguments and the real value of his version would have been more readily acknowledged by his opponents. This, however, may well be doubted; most of them were either his personal enemies, or firm believers in the inspired character of the Septuagint whose renderings were very widely departed from by St. Jerome, so that they were simply bent on one thing, viz., the depreciation of his work.

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[1] Cfr. for instance, his Prefaces to Esdras and to Paralip.

[2] Cfr. MIGNE, Patr. Lat., Epist. cxvi, col. 952. Elsewhere St. Augustine relates the story of an old African bishop, who, using Jerome's new version of Jonas, read in the church lesson the word "ivy" instead of "gourd"; a change which started up the people in such wild excitement that they refused to be quieted till they got their old Latin Version back.

[3] The malice of St. Jerome's opponents went so far as to induce them to circulate under his name among the African bishops a letter in which he was made to "express his repentance and to avow that he had been seduced by the Jews in his youth to translate the Hebrew books into Latin" (cfr. Apology against Rufinus, Book ii, chap. xxiv).

Be this as it may, it is highly probable that the very heat of the controversy contributed not a little to make known more rapidly the new Latin Version by challenging comparison between it and the older translation. In point of fact, throughout the fifth century, that is only a few years after the death of its author, the new translation was highly esteemed and freely used by such writers as Cassianus, Prosper of Aquitaine, St. Eucherius, St. Vincent of Lerins, St. Mamertus, Faustus of Riez and Salvianus.

In the following century "the Vulgate and the Old Latin" continued to exist side by side. Complete Bibles were then rare. "More commonly, a volume would contain only one group of books, such as the Pentateuch or the Prophets, the Gospels or the Pauline Epistles; and it would very easily happen that the library of any one individual would have some of these groups according to the older version, and others according to the Vulgate. Hence we find Christian writers in the fifth and sixth centuries using sometimes one version and sometimes the other; and when complete copies of the Bible came to be written some books might be copied from MSS. of the one type, and others from those of the other. Special familiarity with particular books was a strong bar to the acceptance of the new text. Thus the

Gospels continued to circulate in the old Latin much later than the Prophets, and the old version of the Psalms was never superseded by Jerome's translation at all, but continues to this day to hold its place in the received Bible of the Roman Church."[1]

Thus did the several parts of the new version gradually come into common use in Spain, Gaul, and even in Italy, where, after considerable variation on the part of the Holy See with regard to the relative value of the two translations,[2] the weight of authority was finally thrown in favor of the version of St. Jerome. This came to pass especially through the influence of Pope St. Gregory the Great († 604), and of the illustrious writer Cassiodorus, who, in the last years of the sixth century enjoyed such authority with their contemporaries, and who used the Latin Vulgate in preference to the old Latin translation. From this time forth, the victory of the Vulgate was secured, and in the seventh century, the transcription of the old Latin Version became more and more rare, with the final result somewhat emphatically stated by St. Isidore of Seville († 636) that "all the Churches" used the Vulgate. Early in the ninth century Rabanus Maurus says the same thing, almost in the words of Isidore, and Walafrid Strabo, the disciple of Rabanus, writes "the whole Roman Church now everywhere uses this translation."[3] The Council of Trent, in a decree which we shall have to examine further on, declared the Vulgate to be the authentic version of the Church, and in doing so appealed with good right to the long use of ages."[4]

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[1] Kenyon, Our Bible and the Ancient MSS., p. 175.

[2] Cfr. Trochon, Introduction Générale, p. 435; Cornely, Introductio Generalis in Libros Sacros, p. 430; Chauvin, Leçons d'Introduction Générale, p. 343, sq.

[3] It should however be borne in mind, that while the lessons of the Breviary and the Missal were gradually taken from the Latin Vulgate, the liturgical parts which were sung by the choir, such as the Introit, Gradual, Offertory, etc., were not interfered with, and are still in fair number referrable to the old Latin translation.

[4] The Catholic Dictionary, art. Vulgate, p. 852, sq.

During the course of the two centuries which elapsed between the time of St. Jerome and the general reception of his work, corruptions of a very extensive character crept naturally into the text of the Latin Vulgate. Not only the ordinary mistakes in transcription of which we spoke in connection with the transmission of the New Testament Greek were made by the scribes engaged in copying the Vulgate, but the peculiar relation in which our Vulgate stood to the old Latin Version—in some books identical with it; in others differing to a slight extent; in others offering an independent translation—led to a strange mixture of texts. From sheer familiarity with the words of the older version, the transcribers of the Vulgate wrote down its words instead of those of St. Jerome; and, on the other hand, a copyist of the Old Latin would introduce into its text some improved renderings of the Vulgate. Another fertile source of corruptions should also be mentioned here. It consisted in the lack of critical sense in most of the transcribers and owners of MSS. during the Middle Ages: time and again they inserted in their copies of Holy Writ glosses drawn from other MSS., from parallel passages, from the sacred liturgy, from the writings of St. Jerome, or even of Josephus,[1] and thought that they had thereby secured what they were pleased to call "pleniores codices," while they had simply added to the corruptions already existing.

As time went on, and the variations and corruptions of the MSS. were perpetuated and increased, the need of a revised edition was felt more and more. It was not, however, before the end of the eighth century, that serious and successful efforts were made to produce a recension of the Latin Vulgate. Then it was that the great emperor, Charlemagne, called to France, Alcuin of York, the most distinguished scholar of the day, and intrusted to him the hard work of revising the Latin Text. This Alcuin did, using for the purpose the various families of text current at the time, and on Christmas day of the year 801, he offered to the prince a copy of the corrected Vulgate.[1] Almost simultaneously with Alcuin, Theodulph, Bishop of Orleans († 821) carried out also a revision of the Latin Version and chiefly used for the purpose Spanish MSS. In spite of these two recensions, the first of which had been made with considerable critical skill and with the patronage of the emperor, the text of the Vulgate soon needed again a new recension, and it may be said that the history of the Latin Version during the following centuries "is the history of successive attempts to revise and correct it, and of successive decadences after each revision."[2] Of these various recensions the best known are those of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury († 1089), of St. Stephen, Abbot of Citeaux († 1134), and of Cardinal Nicolas († 1150).

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[1] See in this connection the passage of Roger Bacon († ab. 1292) quoted by TROCHON, loc. cit., p. 435, footn. 15.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century a new method to secure more correct copies of the Bible was resorted to. Then it was that different corporations (universities, religious orders, etc.) began to publish *Epanorthotæ* or *Correctoria Biblica*, in which various readings drawn from the MSS., the writings of the Fathers, etc., were mentioned and discussed. Such were the Correctorium Sorbonicum, the Correctorium Parisiense (also called "Senonense," because approved by the Archbishop of Sens), the Correctorium of the Dominicans drawn up by Hugo a S. Caro († 1263) and shortly after replaced by another, and that of the Franciscans. These were indeed valuable guides to transcribers of Holy Writ during the Middle Ages, but as none of them ever acquired sufficient authority to supplant its rivals, the various Correctoria simply produced so many distinct families of MSS.[1]

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[1] Alcuin's recension did not contain the celebrated text of the three heavenly witnesses in I John v.

[2] KENYON, loc. cit., p. 176.

It is true that the discovery of the art of printing supplied the long desired means of obtaining uniform and authoritative copies of the Vulgate. But it is true, also, that lack of critical skill, desire of multiplying editions of the Bible, etc., betrayed the editors of the fifteenth century into publishing manuscripts of the sacred text irrespectively of their origin and value. Hence it came to pass that the numerous printed editions which appeared before the year 1500,[2] instead of remedying, simply made more generally known the variations and corruptions which had gradually crept into the Latin Version, especially when editions were furnished with various readings, and editors complained in their prefaces of the inaccuracy of the text as it existed in MSS. Still less conducive to textual uniformity were the critical editions prepared and published by Ximenes, Erasmus and Rob. Stephens, and more particularly the entirely new translations directly made from the originals, not only by Protestants, such as Osiander, Münster, and Castalio, but also by Catholics, among whom we may mention Xantes Pagninus, Card. Cajetan and Erasmus.

The foregoing remarks enable us to understand fully the object which the Fathers of Trent had in view when they prepared their solemn decree concerning the Latin Vulgate. They knew of the many Latin editions, some of them anonymous, or even heretical, which circulated freely at the time, and of the growing confusion naturally consequent on their public use. They knew likewise of the many defects to be found in all the extant MSS. and current editions of the Vulgate, and they resolved to put an end to what they justly considered as "abuses," by declaring which of the existing Latin versions was the translation approved by the Church, and by intrusting to the Holy See the preparation of a correct edition of the same.[1] The Latin Version which they selected was, of course, the old Latin Vulgate, and they proclaimed it the official text of the Church in the following terms: "The Holy Council, considering that no small profit would accrue to the Church of God if it be made known which of all the Latin editions of the sacred books in actual circulation is to be esteemed authentic, ordains and declares that the same (*hæc ipsa*) old and Vulgate edition which has been approved by the long use of so many ages in the Church itself, is to be held for authentic in public readings, discourses and disputes, and that nobody may dare or presume to reject it on any pretence" (Concil. Trid. Canones et Decreta, Sess. IV, Decretum de Editione et Usu Sacrorum Librorum).

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[1] The principal MSS. of the Latin Vulgate are (1) the *Amiatinus* Codex, formerly in the Convent of Monte Amiata, near Siena, and now in the Laurentian Library, at Florence; it was written in the beginning of the eighth century; (2) the *Toletanus* Codex, in Toledo (Spain), written in Gothic letters about the eighth century; (3), the *Paulinus*, or *Carolinus* Codex, of the ninth century, and which follows the recension of Alcuin; (4) the *Valicellanius* Codex (ninth century), in the Victor Emmanuel Library, at Rome; (5) the *Cavensis* Codex, thus named from the monastery of La Cava, near Salerno (ninth century), and containing a Spanish text. The other MSS. more particularly worthy of mention, though containing only the Gospels, are the *Fuldensis* (written in 546) and the *Lindisfarne* Gospels (end of seventh century), etc. (Cfr. the long list of MSS. given in SCRIVENER, Plain Introduction to Textual Criticism, vol. ii, p. 67, sqq.)

[2] These early editions were over sixty in number. Cfr. CORNELY, Introductio Generalis, p. 439, note 1. It seems that the Vulgate was the first book printed in Europe, and that it was issued by Gutenberg in 1456.

When this decree is studied in the light of the discussions preparatory to its framing and publication, it is clear that the "authenticity" ascribed therein to the Latin Vulgate does not refer to its conformity with the original texts, for the term is used by the Fathers of Trent in a sense which, according to them, could be applied to an authorized edition of the original text itself:[1] the Vulgate is therefore an "authentic version of Holy Writ in the sense (1) that the Council has approved its text and enjoined its use in public readings, discourses and disputes," and (2) that, as we learn from some theologians of the Council, it contains nothing from which erroneous doctrinal and moral teachings could be inferred. It is clear, also, that the Council of Trent, while declaring the Latin Vulgate the "authentic" version of the Church, does not intend to depreciate the Hebrew Text, or the Septuagint translation, or even the other Catholic translations made up to that time; it simply selects out of the many Latin versions actually in circulalation, one which is judged better for its purpose, and explicitly and repeatedly declares in the meetings held for the framing of the decree, that the other versions shall preserve their individual value.[2] Finally, it is beyond doubt that when the Fathers of Trent decree that the Latin Vulgate "is to be held for authentic in public readings, discourses and disputes, and that nobody may dare or presume to reject it on any pretence," they do not intend to forbid absolutely the use of other translations, or of the originals of Holy Writ, for their declarations in their meetings prove that they are fully aware that these also are useful means of getting at the true meaning of God's Word,[3] and the Jesuit Salmeron, one of the leading theologians of the Council, says explicitly: "Licebit itaque nobis salva Concilii auctoritate sive græci sive hebræi exemplaris lectionem variam producere eamque ut *verum Bibliorum textum* expendere et enarrare, nec tantum mores per eam ædificare, *verum etiam fidei dogmata comprobare atque stabilire atque adeo sumere ab illis efficax* argumentum tanquam ex textu S. Scripturæ."[1] If, therefore, the public use of any other version was so strictly forbidden by the Council, it was particularly in order to do away with the confusion which was the outcome of a multiplicity of translations, and to discourage effectively the mania then prevalent for making new versions of Holy Writ. Lastly, when the Fathers of Trent decreed "that nobody may dare or presume to reject the official version on any pretence," they simply wanted thereby to declare emphatically that the Latin Vulgate was disfigured by no error from which doctrine opposed to right belief and conduct could be inferred. That such is the correct interpretation of the last part of the Tridentine decree is proved by a careful study of the Genuine Acts of the Council, and also—and indeed more explicitly—by the declaration of Vega, one of its theologians, who, some twenty years after the close of the Council, wrote as follows: "In honorem vetustatis et honoris, quem ei (i. e. Vulgatæ) quam a multis annis detulerant Concilia latina, quæ ea sunt usa, et ut certo scirent fideles, quod et verissimum est *nullum inde haberi perniciosum errorem et tuto illam et citra periculum posse legi*, *ad coercendam etiam confusionem quam affert multitudo translationum*, *et ad temperandam licentiam nimiam cudendi semper novas translationes* sapienter statuit (Synodus) ut ista uteremur in publicis lectionibus, disputationibus et expositionibus. *Atque eatenus voluit eam authenticam haberi*, *ut certum omnibus esset*, *nullo eam fœdatam esse errore*, *ex quo perniciosum aliquod dogma in fide et moribus colligi posset*, atque ideo statuit, ne quis illam quovis prætextu rejicere auderet. Et hanc fuisse mentem Synodi *neque quidquam amplius statuere voluisse* ex verbis ipsis et ex aliis consuetis approbationibus Concilii potes colligere. . . ."[1]

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[1] Cfr. the interesting discussions recorded in the Acta Genuina SS. Œcumenici Concilii Tridentini, published by A. Theiner, vol. i, pp. 60–65, 79–83.

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[1] "Rogantur an placeret haberi unam editionem veterem et vulgatam in unoquoque idiomate, græco scilicet, hebræo et latino, qua omnes utantur pro authentica in publicis lectionibus, disputationibus. . . ." (Acta Genuina, loc. cit., p. 83.)

[2] Cfr. Acta Genuina, loc. cit., pp. 79–83. The Jesuit SALMERON, and the Franciscan VEGA, two theologians of the Council, have also affirmed positively that this was the mind of the Fathers of Trent; their words are given by CORNELY, Introductio Generalis, pp. 445–446.

[3] Cfr, for instance, the declaration of the Bishop of Clermont, "aliæque editiones, quatenus juvare possunt, etiam admittantur" (Acta Genuina, vol. i, p. 81).

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[1] Salmeron's words are quoted in CORNELY, loc. cit., p. 445; cfr. also VIGOUROUX, Manuel Biblique, vol. i, n. 142.

While the Latin Vulgate was thus proclaimed at Trent as the official and approved version of the Church, no special edition of it was as yet declared the standard text to which all copies should henceforth conform. To supply such a standard, the Fathers of the Council relied chiefly on the Holy See, and thought, in fact, that the work could be completed even before they dispersed, so that they would have an opportunity to approve it themselves.[2] Apparently they realized but imperfectly the amount and difficulty of the work which was required to produce such "very careful and correct edition of the Latin Vulgate," as they desired. In point of fact, about thirty years elapsed after the conclusion of the Council before any authorized edition of the Vulgate was given to the public. Meantime, revised editions of it appeared, two of which deserve especial mention, viz., that published by the Dominican, Henten, in 1547, which was reprinted several times, and that of Lucas of Bruges (a critical recension of the preceding), which appeared in 1583, and was of the greatest use to the Roman revisers of the Latin Vulgate.

It would be too long to detail here the manner in which Popes Julius III († 1555), Pius IV († 1565), and Gregory XIII († 1585), set on foot or co-operated in the great work of revision desired by the Council of Trent. Suffice it to say that the last-named Pontiff contributed powerfully towards it by appointing a commission presided over by Cardinal Carafa, and among the members of which were reckoned such able scholars as Lælius Landus, Bellarmin, Agellius, P. Morinus, Valverde and W. Allen. It was, however, only under Gregory's successor, Sixtus V (who ascended the Papal throne April the 24th, 1585), that the members of this commission worked very actively at the great task set before them. They had at their disposal some of the best MSS. above mentioned,[1] and their method of work was certainly worthy of praise. Lælius collated the MSS.; Agellius compared doubtful passages with the Hebrew and the LXX; and the result of their work was read and discussed before the commission. The text corrected by the commission was revised by Sixtus V himself, who unfortunately followed principles of correction which differed considerably from those of the revisers, and who in various other ways gave them offence. In 1590 Sixtus V issued his edition of the Latin Vulgate, prefixing to it the constitution "Æternus Ille," in which he ordered it to be used in all discussions, public and private, and to be received as "true, lawful, authentic and unquestioned." He also forbade expressly the publication of various readings in copies of the Vulgate, and declared that all readings in other editions and MSS. which vary from those of his revised text "are to have no credit or authority for the future."[2]

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[1] Cfr. CORNELY, loc. cit., p. 445, sq. For further information about the real bearing of this decree of Trent, see beside the authors already referred to, TROCHON, Introduction Générale; The Catholic Dictionary, art. Vulgate, p. 856, sqq.; BREEN, Introduction to Holy Scripture, p. 538, sq.; LOISY, Histoire du Canon du Nouveau Testament, p. 250, sqq., etc.

[2] Cfr. Analecta Juris Pontificii, livraison 28, col. 1013.

Had the life of Sixtus V been prolonged after this act of vigor and authority, there is hardly any doubt that he would have gradually overcome the general dissatisfaction which the preparation and publication of his edition had caused. But he died in August, 1590, and those whom he had alarmed or offended took immediate measures to procure the publication of a new edition. During the very brief pontificate of Urban VII (it lasted only ten days) nothing of course could be done. On the accession of Gregory XIV some expressed the wish that the edition of Sixtus V should be prohibited ; but such an extreme measure was justly disregarded. According to the suggestion of Bellarmin, a revision of the work of Sixtus V was undertaken, and was ultimately published in the same size and print and with the same title as the former: "Biblia Sacra Vulgatæ editionis, Sixti V, Pontificis Maximi jussu recognita et edita." It is only in 1641 that the name of Clement VIII, under whose pontificate this revised edition appeared, began to be mentioned in the title of the authorized Vulgate. The differences of the two editions are numerous (some 4,000 in number), and it appears that at times rather serious changes were introduced into the latter.[1]

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[1] For details, see VERCELLONE, Essay on the Correction of the Vulgate, in Analecta Juris Pontificii, livraison 28th, col. 1015, sqq.

[2] The Bull "Æternus Ille," which bears the impress of the strong but somewhat overbearing temper of Sixtus V, is given *in extenso* in CORNELY, Introductio Generalis, pp. 465–474.

Of the recent critical labors undertaken with a view to prepare a more satisfactory text of the great work of St. Jerome we can only mention here, (1) the two volumes of "Variæ Lectiones Vulg. Lat. Bibliorum editionis," published by C. VERCELLONE, and which comprise only Genesis—IV Kings; (2) Bp. WORDSWORTH, Novum Testamentum D. N. Jesu Christi secundum editionem Sancti Hieronymi; and (3) PETER CORSSEN, Epistula ad Galatas, etc.

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[1] Vercellone has maintained that some of these changes are connected with dogmatic passages.

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER XV.

The English Versions.

- I. Early Translations:
  - 1. Anglo-Saxon: Work of Cædmon; Guthlac; St Aldhelm; Ven. Bede; King Alfred, etc.
  - 2. Early English: Metrical paraphrases; prose versions of the Psalms; Work of Wycliffe.

- II. Catholic Versions:
  - 1. The Douay Version (1582, 1609):
    - The translators: their qualifications for their work.
    - The translation: method, critical and literary value.
    - Principal revisions:
      - Challoner's revision (1749).
      - Troy's Bible (1783).
      - Editions since Troy's Bible.
  - 2. Other translations of the New Testament (Nary's; Witham's; Lingard's; Spencer's).
  - 3. Kenrick's Bible: (aim; text; annotations).

- III. Protestant Translations:
  - 1. Translations anterior to the Authorized Version (the translators, value of their work).
  - 2. The Authorized Version (1611):
    - Part of James I in its production.
    - The six companies of translators (their proceedings).
    - Final revision and publication of the work.
    - Its value (literary, critical and dogmatic).
  - 3. The Revised Version (1881, 1885):
    - Principal schemes and reasons for a revision of the Authorized Version.
    - Resolutions taken in the Convocation of Canterbury in 1870.
    - Principal members of the English and American committees (their method of work).
    - Reception and value of the Revised Version.

CHAPTER XV.

THE ENGLISH VERSIONS.

§ 1. *Early Translations.*

1. Anglo-Saxon Translations. It was naturally from the Latin Bible, which had been carried into England by Roman and Irish missionaries, that the first Anglo-Saxon translations were made. The earliest production of the kind is ascribed to Cædmon († 680), a monk of Whitby, in Northumbria, to whose memory Ven. Bede has devoted a whole chapter of his *Historia Ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum.*[1] His work is less a translation proper than a metrical paraphrase of the book of Genesis and of several historical parts of the Old and the New Testaments, and it has come down to us only in a fragmentary form. Soon after him, about the close of the seventh century, Guthlac, the first Anglo-Saxon hermit, "having one of the Psalters brought from Rome, wrote in it an interlinear Saxon translation which is still preserved in the British Museum; and not long after, about 706, Aldhelm (Bishop of Sherborne) made another Saxon translation of the Psalms, the first fifty of them in prose, the rest in poetical form."[2]

The next translator of whom we hear is the Venerable Bede († 735), who wrote Latin commentaries on several books of the Bible and to whom some ascribe a translation of the entire Bible. He is also represented by one of his disciples as completing his version of the Gospel of St. John the very day of his death. On the morning of the feast of the Ascension, we are told, one chapter alone remained unfinished, and his young amanuensis hesitated to press further his dying master. But Bede would not rest till he had completed his work. Failing strength and the last farewells to the brethren of the monastery of Jarrow prolonged the task till the evening, when the youth reminded his master: "There is yet one sentence unwritten, dear master." "Write it quickly," said the saint; and it was written under his dictation. "It is finished now," said the scribe. "You spoke the truth," replied Bede, "it is finished now;" and he died lying on the pavement of his cell, and repeating the words of the doxology, "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost."

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[1] Book iv, chap. xxiv. Cfr. MIGNE, Patr. Lat., vol. xcv, cols. 212–215.

[2] Jn. W. BEARDSLEE, The Bible among the Nations, p. 137. It is not quite certain, however, that the sole MS. containing the Psalter, ascribed to St. Aldhelm, reproduces faithfully the work of the holy bishop (cfr. KENYON, Our Bible and the Ancient MSS., p. 190, sq.).

No copy of Bede's translation survives; and this is also the case with the version of Holy Writ ascribed to the great statesman, King Alfred († 901). Careful for the moral and intellectual welfare of his people, this Saxon monarch placed at the head of his own code of laws a translation of the ten commandments and other extracts from the law of Moses, and William of Malmesbury tells us that he was engaged on a version of the Psalms at the time of his death. In point of fact, a MS. now in the British Museum, and containing the Latin Text with an interlinear Anglo-Saxon translation, has borne the name of King Alfred's Psalter.

In the tenth century we meet with two forms of versions of the Gospels. The earlier in date is also an interlinear translation of the Latin Text, and it has come down to us in those copies which are known under the names of the *Book of Durham* or Gospels of St. Cuthbert, and the *Rushworth Gloss*, thus called from one of its first owners. The other form, somewhat later in date, presents the Anglo-Saxon Version of the Gospels by itself, apart from the Latin Text on which it was based, and is now extant in six copies, the oldest of which, written about the year 1000, is found in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.[1]

The last Anglo-Saxon translation of Holy Writ to be mentioned here, is of more considerable extent than the preceding. It is ascribed to Ælfric, Archbishop of Canterbury, and is a paraphrase in popular form of the *Heptateuch* (i.e. of the Pentateuch, Josue and Judges), and of the other historical books (Samuel, Kings and Chronicles, Esther, Job, Judith and the Machabees).[2] "Two copies of this version are known, at Oxford and in the British Museum."[3]

2. Early English Translations. The work of Bible translation naturally received a check during the confusion which accompanied the Norman conquest. Gradually, however, as the intermixture of Norman and Anglo-Saxon went on, and the early English became developed, metrical paraphrases of portions of Holy Writ were composed. The best known among them are the *Ormulum*, thus called from its author. Orm, an English Augustinian monk, and containing verses on the Gospels and Acts, and the *Sowlehele* or Salus Animæ, which, along with other religious poetry, contains a metrical version of the leading facts of both Testaments.

In the following century (the fourteenth), two prose versions of the Psalms deserve especial notice. They appeared about the same time, and were written, the one by William of Shoreham, Vicar of Chart Sutton, near Leeds (Kent), and the other by Richard Rolle, a hermit of Hampole, about four miles from Doncaster. We give a specimen of the version of William of Shoreham as illustrating the progress of the English language, about the year 1320. Psalm the 55th begins as follows: "Have mercy on me, God, for man hath defouled me. The fende trubled me, feghtand alday oghayns me. Myn enemys defouled me alday, for many were feghtand oghains me. I shal dred the fram the heght of the daye; I for sothe shal hope in the. Hii shal hery my wordes, what manes flesshe doth to me. Alday the wicked accurseden my wordes oghains me; alle her thoutes ben in ivel."

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[1] Here is a specimen of the form of language in which this old version of the Gospels was written. After quoting the first words of St. Mark's Gospel in Latin, the translation begins thus: "Her ys Godspelles angin, halendes Cristes Godes sune. Swa awriten ys on thaswitegan bec Isaiam. Nu ic asende mine ængel beforan thinre ansyne. Se gegarewath thinne weg beforan the. Clepigende stefen on tham westene gegarwiath drithnes weg. Doth rihte his sythas. Johannes wæs on westene fulgende and bodiende. Dædbote fulwyht on synna forgyfenysse."

[2] Ælfric omitted such passages as seemed to him of minor importance.

[3] KENYON, loc. cit., p. 195.

In the version of Rolle, a commentary, in which the hermit of Hampole "follows holy Doctors and reason," accompanies each sentence of the translation. His version of the Psalter, like that of William of Shoreham, can be read with comparative ease at the present day. Here is its beginning of Ps. xxii: "Lord gouerns me and nathynge sall me want: in sted of pasture thare he me sett. On the watere of rehetynge (refreshing) forth he me broght: my saule he turnyd. He led me on the stretis of rightwisness: for his name. ffor whi, if I had gane in myddis of the shadow of ded: I sall not dred illes, for thou ert with me. . . ."[1]

The short account thus far given of the early English translations shows clearly, that if the whole Bible was rendered into the vernacular before the time of Wycliffe (1324–1384) no positive proof of it, in the shape of extant MSS., or otherwise, can be brought forth. It is not therefore surprising to find, that, despite the affirmation of Sir Thos. More († 1535) to the contrary, most writers of the present day consider it very improbable that such a translation was made before this celebrated forerunner of Protestantism.[1]

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[1] As Rolle's version exists now in copies which differ considerably from one another, it is impossible to say which represents best the primitive renderings.

Of the precise share of John Wycliffe in the production of a complete version of Holy Writ it is impossible to speak with confidence at the present day, seeing that "half the English religious tracts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries have been assigned to him in the absence of all external, and in defiance of all internal, evidence,"[2] and that mere legends or fantastic pictures have been mixed with sober history in connection with the composition and spread of the Wycliffite Bible. The true facts of the case are most likely as follows: "The New Testament was first finished, about the year 1380; and in 1382, or soon afterwards, the version of the entire Bible was completed. Wycliffe was now rector of Lutterworth in Leicestershire, living mainly in his parish, but keeping constantly in touch with Oxford and London. Other scholars assisted him in his work, and we have no certain means of knowing how much of the translation was actually done by himself. The New Testament is attributed to him, but we cannot say with certainty that it was entirely his own work. The greater part of the Old Testament was certainly translated by Nicholas Hereford, one of Wycliffe's most ardent supporters at Oxford. The MS. now in the Bodleian library at Oxford breaks off quite abruptly at Baruch iii, 20, in the middle of the sentence, and it is evident that Hereford carried on the work no further; for another MS. at Oxford, copied from it, ends at the same place and contains a contemporary note assigning the work to Hereford. It may be supposed that this sudden break marks the time of Hereford's summons to London in 1382, to answer for his opinions, which resulted in his excommunication and retirement from England. . . . After Hereford's departure the translation of the Old Testament was continued by Wycliffe himself or his assistants, and so the entire Bible was complete in its English dress before the death of Wycliffe in 1384."[1]

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[1] In connection with this point, see especially JN. H. BLUNT, A Key to the Knowledge and Use of the Holy Bible, p. 19, sq.; KENYON, Our Bible and the Ancient MSS., p. 198, sq.; F. A. GASQUET, The Pre-Reformation English Bible, in The Dublin Review July, 1894, pp. 126, 140, sqq.

[2] SHIRLEY, Fasciculus Zizaniorum, quoted by Gasquet, loc. cit., p. 125.

It is this composite character of the Wycliffite Bible which accounts for the great difference in style which is noticeable between the two main parts of which it is made up: while Wycliffe's part is characterized by a robust, terse, popular and homely diction, that ascribed to Hereford is somewhat more polished and oftentimes quaint. Likely enough this strong contrast between Wycliffe and his co-workers led soon to a revision, which, as is commonly admitted, was carried out by John Purvey, one of the most intimate friends of Wycliffe and a sharer in the condemnation of Hereford. At any rate, Purvey's revision, made about 1388, gradually supplanted the primitive version, and became the recognized form under which the Wycliffe Bible circulated freely[2] during the fifteenth century.

§ 2. *The Catholic Versions.*

1. The Douay Version. It was only natural that those who embraced the Protestant Reformation should endeavor to produce vernacular translations, derived no longer, as were all the versions of preceding ages, from the Latin Bible, but from the original Hebrew and Greek, in order that these new translations might be pointed out as the true expression of the written Word of God, the supreme rule of faith. Moreover, all such versions would furnish their authors with an excellent means of spreading their heretical views. We are not therefore surprised to find that the first to succeed Wycliffe in the work of translating Holy Writ into English should have been men of comparatively little ability and of more or less doubtful character,[1] but violent enemies of the Church of Rome from which they had apostatized, and ardent propagators of Protestantism. They are justly considered as "the true fathers of the English (Protestant) Bible," so that the history of their work is an integrant part of the history of the Protestant translations, which forms the subject-matter of the next paragraph. Leaving therefore aside, for the time being, the study of these first Protestant versions, we shall speak at once of the *Douay Version*, which was put forth for the purpose of counteracting "their poisonous effect upon the people under color of divine authority."

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[1] Kenyon, Our Bible and the Ancient MSS., p. 200, sq.

[2] Fr. Gasquet, in his article already referred to on The Pre-Reformation English Bible, proves conclusively that the hostility of the English bishops to an English Bible has been much exaggerated. (See The Dublin Review, for July, 1894, p. 133, sqq.)

This Catholic translation derives its name from the French town of Douay, where, through the exertions of William Allen, an English Catholic college had been founded with the object of organizing missionary work in Protestant England. In consequence of the political troubles of Flanders, the college was removed, in 1578, to Rheims, for a time, and it is in this latter town that the Catholic translators of the Bible printed, in 1582, the first part of their work, the New Testament, which bears sometimes on that account, the name of the *Rheims Testament*.[2] The Old Testament was published in Douay, only in 1609–1610 (two vols. in 4to), although the translation had been prepared many years previously, the delay being occasioned, as the translators put it, "by lack of good meanes" and because "of our poor estate in banishment."[1]

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[1] Thus are they described by the Protestant BLUNT, in his Key to the Knowledge and Use of the Holy Bible, p. 24.

[2] The New Testament appeared in 1582, in 4 to. Its title page reads as follows: "The *New Testament of Jesus Christ*, translated faithfully into English out of the Authentic Latin, according to the best copies of the same, diligently conferred with the Greeke and other editions in divers languages, with *Arguments* of bookes and chapters, *Annotations* and other necessary helpes, for the better understanding of the text, and especially for the discoverie of the *Corruptions* of divers late translations, and for cleering the controversies in religion of these daies; *In the English College of Rhemes*. . . Printed at Rhemes by John Fogny, 1582, Cum Privilegio."

There is no doubt that the authors of the Douay Version were all men of learning, and well qualified to render into English the Word of God. Besides Dr. Allen, who, in Mary's reign, was principal of St. Mary's Hall (Oxford) and canon of York, the scholars chiefly concerned in the translation were (1) Dr. Gregory Martin, fellow of St. John's College (Oxford), who was reputed the best Hebrew and Greek scholar of his college,[2] and of whom Antony Wood, in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, speaks as "an excellent linguist exactly read and versed in the Sacred Scriptures, and went beyond all of his time in humane literature;"[3] (2) Dr. Richard Bristow, fellow of Exeter College (Oxford); (3) John Reynolds, of New College, who filled the chair of Hebrew at Rheims; (4) and finally, Dr. Thomas Worthington, also an Oxford man, and afterwards president of the Seminary at Rheims.

In their long preface to the New Testament the translators, after having given as their purpose, that of "opposing a Catholic version to heretical ones," state their reasons for preferring the Latin Vulgate to the common Greek Text, and the principal of which are the following: Its antiquity; its use by the Fathers and in the liturgy; its authenticity proclaimed by the Council of Trent; its exactness and precision, etc. Next, they expose the method which they followed in rendering the Latin Text. They aimed at a precise and close rendering of the Vulgate, but added at times in the margin Greek or Latin words of special difficulty or import, or even another reading, especially when the Greek was agreeable to the same. They sometimes also translated the word in the margin of their Latin MSS. instead of the word found in the text when the latter was manifestly faulty.

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[1] The title page of the Old Testament is worded in the same manner as that of the New Testament, except as regards the place and date of printing. The expression "according to the best copies of the same" is omitted, because by this time (1609–1610), the *standard* text of the Latin Vulgate had been fixed by the Holy See.

[2] The translation itself of both Testaments was the work of Gregory Martin; the rest simply revised his renderings or added the notes.

[3] The text of Wood is quoted by JN. STOUGHTON, Our English Bible, p. 226, sq.

In their preface to the Old Testament, the editors[1] give likewise reasons for translating the Latin Vulgate rather than the originals. They state that the version having been made about thirty years ago by able and sincere men, only a few modifications, unimportant from the point of view of controversy, have been made to their work, and this to conform it to the most perfect Latin edition (the Clementine edition of 1592). Finally, they affirm that throughout the translation there prevails a perfect sincerity of renderings "nothing being here either untruly or obscurely done of purpose in favour of the Catholike Roman religion, so that we cannot but complaine and challenge English Protestants for corrupting the text . . . which they profess to translate."

It is plain, therefore, from their own statements, as indeed from the very nature of their work, that the authors of the Douay Version did not intend to put forth a translation of Holy Writ that would have a special critical value. Had this been their aim, they would not have been satisfied with rendering into English a Latin Text, but would have naturally gone back to the original Hebrew and Greek, for any version made from another can hardly ever supply readings of greater value in Textual Criticism than those of the translation from which it is derived. It must be said, however, that since the Douay Version was made very closely from Latin MSS. or editions of the sixteenth century, anterior to the official text published by the Popes Sixtus V and Clement VIII, it may and does point in several cases to Latin readings no longer found in our editions of the Latin Vulgate and thereby helps us to improve their text.

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[1] The chief translators Allen († 1594) and Gregory Martin († 1582) died before the first volume of the Old Testament appeared in 1609.

From a literary standpoint, the primitive Douay Bible recommends itself by several happy features, as a translation. One of these is the uniformity of the renderings. The words Amen, Rabbi, charity, multitude, work, etc., are uniformly used, while the Authorized Version, for instance, is frequently marred by unnecessary and inconsistent diversity of renderings of the same word in the original.[1] A second praiseworthy quality is the remarkable discernment in using the definite article. As the Latin language lacks it, it might be expected that, of all English modern translations, the Douay would be least accurate in this respect. The very reverse is actually the case.[2] In the third place, the translator's care strictly to follow the text before him, often led to happy results, the preservation of a significant phrase of the original, or of an impressive arrangement of words. Card. Wiseman affirms that "though one of the revisers of the Douay Version, Dr. Challoner, did well to alter many too decided Latinisms which the old translators had retained, he weakened the language considerably by destroying inversion where it was congenial at once to the genius of the language and to the construction of the original. . . ."[3] To this same care of the translators to render exactly their Latin Text is probably due the introduction of many Latin words into English, with which everybody is now familiar, as for instance, the terms acquisition, victim, gratis, adulterate, advent, etc.[4] Of course, numerous felicitous renderings of a genuine Saxon ring might be quoted, and in point of fact many words and entire sentences were found so good in the

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[1] J. I. Mombert, A Handbook of the English Versions of the Bible, p. 307.

[2] W. F. Moulton, The History of the English Bible, p. 187, sq.

[3] Essays on Various Subjects, vol. i, p. 75 (London and Baltimore, 8vo, 1853).

[4] W. F. Moulton, loc. cit., p. 186.

Rheims Testament, that they were simply embodied in the Authorized Version.[1] The last, and perhaps most commendable feature of the Douay Bible to be mentioned here, is its scrupulous fidelity. "In justice," writes Scrivener, "it must be observed that no case of wilful perversion of Scripture has ever been brought home to the Rhemish translators."[2]

Unfortunately, this desire of abiding by the text before them prevented the authors of the Douay Version from utilizing the Hebrew and Greek texts to the extent to which this would have been at times desirable to catch the exact meaning of the Latin translation.[3] It betrayed them also into a literalness of rendering which is oftentimes extreme,[4] and into the preservation of Latin words and expressions that really need a translation.[5]

It is clear, therefore, that this distinctly Catholic Version of Holy Writ had many features to commend it to the esteem and love of the faithful at large, and it is not surprising to find that, despite its bulky appearance, it was well received at the time and soon reprinted[6] with but slight alterations. But of course its great defect of excessive literalness, joined to the inconvenience of its size, and to the gradual changes introduced into the English language, made it more and more desirable that it should be revised and published in a handier form. The first to take up the responsible work of revision was Dr. Challoner, the Vicar Apostolic of the London district, to whom the English Church is so much indebted. The first edition of his revision appeared in 1749, and consisted of the New Testament only (12mo). It professed to be "newly revised and corrected according to the Clementine edition of the Scriptures," but gave no manner of information as to the principle, the source or the extent of the alterations introduced into the old version. He apparently aimed at rendering the text more intelligible, and on that account, he substituted modern words and constructions for the old, and usual or even familiar expressions for those that were obsolete or less known. At times, he adopts the readings of the Authorized Version by preference to those of the Douay Bible, and he undoubtedly sacrifices force and vividness when he dispenses with even the happiest inversions of words.[1]

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[1] For examples, see MOMBERT, loc. cit., p. 306.

[2] The text of SCRIVENER is quoted by COTTON, Rhemes and Douay, p. 156.

[3] Card. WISEMAN, loc. cit., p. 79, sqq., shows clearly how necessary it is to go back to the originals to make out the exact meaning of the Latin Version.

[4] Here is one of the worst samples of this defect: "To me, the least of the sainctes, is given this grace, among the Gentils to evangelize the unsearchable riches of Christ and to illuminate all men what is the dispensation of the sacrament hidden from worlds in God, who created all things; that the manifold wisdom of God may be notified to the Princes and Potestats in the celestials by the Church according to the prefinition of worlds, which he made in Christ Jesus, Our Lord" (Ephes. iii, 8–11).

[5] As when we read, for instance, of men "odible to God" (Rom. i, 30): of Christians "made concorporat and comparticipant" (Ephes. iii, 6); of Christ, that "He exinanited Himself" etc.; etc. (Cfr. for a long list of such blunders, MOMBERT, loc. cit., p. 303.)

[6] This is particularly true of the New Testament, which soon came to a second edition in 1600; to a third in 1621; and to a fourth in 1633. Only the edition of 1621 is 16mo (cfr. NEWMAN, Tracts Theological and Ecclesiastical, p. 409, sq.).

"Looking at Dr. Challoner's labors on the Old Testament as a whole, we may pronounce that they issue in little short of a new translation. They can as little be said to be made on the basis of the Douay, as on the basis of the Protestant Version. Of course, there must be a certain resemblance between any two Catholic translations whatever, because they are both translations of the same Vulgate; but this connection between the Douay and Challoner being allowed for, Challoner's Version is even nearer to the Protestant than it is to the Douay; nearer, that is, not in grammatical structure, but in phraseology and diction."[2]

As long as Bp. Challoner lived, no editions were published except such as followed his revision. Hardly was he dead, when a Dublin priest, named Bernard MacMahon, published, in 1783, a new revision of the New Testament, in 12mo, with the formal approbation of his archbishop. This new edition was made on the basis of Challoner's Text, but with still more considerable variations from the Rheims Testament. Eight years afterwards, on the invitation of Dr. Troy, the actual incumbent of the See of Dublin, Fr. MacMahon published a revised edition of the whole Bible (in 4to), hence the name which it has received, of Dr. Troy's Bible. This gave him an opportunity of introducing numerous changes more into the text of the New Testament, but as regards the Douay Version of the Old Testament, there is little difference between his text and that of Dr. Challoner.[1]

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[1] For details, see NEWMAN, loc. cit., p. 414, sqq. (London edition, Longmans & Co., 1891).

[2] NEWMAN, loc. cit., p. 416.

Of the many editions subsequent to Dr. Troy's Bible, we shall simply mention here the four principal types which, we think are still current. These are: (1) that of Duffy, Dublin, a reprint of the text of Dr. Murray (published in 1825); (2) that of Richardson, London, which reproduces the edition which appeared in 1847, with the approbation of Dr. Walsh, Vicar Apostolic, and Dr. Wiseman, his coadjutor; (3) that of Dolman, London, practically a reprint of the Bible approved by Bp. Denvir in 1839; (4) finally, that of Dunigan, New York, published with many high approbations, apparently copied from the text published by Dr. Haydock, in 1811.[2] As regards the Old Testament, these various editions represent one, and practically only one, received text, viz., that of Bp. Challoner, which did not undergo any material alterations in the course of the nineteenth century.[3] As regards the New Testament, the text represented by these same four editions varies much more considerably;[1] so that, at the present day, there is really no one received text of the Rheims Testament among English-speaking Catholics.

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[1] Cfr. Newman, loc. cit., p. 423, sqq. See, also, Rhemes and Douay, by Rev. Henry Cotton, p. 57, sqq.

[2] To these may be added, the edition of Sadlier, New York; and the Haydock's Bible, edited by Dr. Husenbeth. For details see Newman, and Cotton, loc. cit.

[3] The only exception to this is connected with the work of Archbishop Kenrick, of which we shall soon speak.

2. Other Translations of the New Testament. Even before any revision of the Douay Bible was attempted, its various defects had been so strongly felt that two Catholic priests undertook and carried out an altogether new translation of the New Testament. The first of these was Cornelius Nary, parish priest of St. Michan's, Dublin, who published his work in 1718, with the approbation of four Irish divines, of Paris and Dublin. He had done well his duty as a faithful interpreter of Holy Writ, and was not without hope that his version would gradually take the place of the corresponding part in the ancient, bulky and expensive Douay Bible.[2] It does not seem, however, that his work was favorably received, and, even during his lifetime, a rival translation of the New Testament was put forth, which "attracted far more notice on its appearance than Dr. Nary's had obtained."[3] The author of this new version was Dr. Robert Witham, President of the College of Douay since 1714, who had openly blamed Nary's pretension to give a *literal* translation of the New Testament. His work, published in 1730, contained, besides a Preface or Address to the Reader, numerous and strong Commendations from Ecclesiastical authority, Arguments at the beginning of each Book, and Notes, expository, critical and controversial. The English was modernized, and the translation was superior in many ways to that of Dr. Nary. Despite, however, Witham's high position and repute for learning, despite also the convenient size of his edition and the real value of his version, a new edition of the Douay Bible was published as early as 1738, and his work, like that of Fr. Nary, was finally superseded by the revision of Dr. Challoner, which appeared in 1749.

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[1] Cfr. NEWMAN, loc. cit., p. 443, sqq.

[2] For his own appreciation of the Douay Version, cfr. the preface to his work, in COTTON, Rhemes and Douay, p. 299, sqq.

[3] COTTON, loc. cit., p. 44.

It must be confessed that the fate of these two translations of the New Testament was calculated to discourage forever attempts at new versions of the sacred text. In point of fact, a whole century elapsed before a work of the kind was given, and then anonymously, to the public, under the title of " A New Version of the Four Gospels, with notes critical and explanatory, by a Catholic" (London, 1836). The author, whose name was soon known, was Dr. John Lingard, the celebrated English historian. The translation is for the most part from the Greek, although occasionally the reading of the Latin Vulgate is adhered to. The notes subjoined to each page are highly deserving of attention. Dr. Lingard says of them in his Introduction : " The notes which are appended to the text are not of a controversial character. Their object is the elucidation of obscure passages, or the explication of allusions to national customs, or the statement of the reasons which have induced the translator to differ occasionally from preceding interpreters." There is no doubt that Lingard's Version of the Gospels must be considered as a scholarly and useful book. Archbishop Kenrick speaks of the work as " elegant," and of the notes as " few in number, but luminous " ; [1] while Cardinal Wiseman [2] says : " Throughout the notes and preface, there is a drift . . . which has our cordial approbation . . ." and " we take pleasure in bearing witness to the learning, diligence, and acuteness of the author." Nevertheless, the confined and partial nature of the new version which comprised only the Gospels, together with the hold which the Douay Bible had upon the memory of the clergy and laity, naturally prevented the translation of Dr. Lingard not only from superseding the one then in general circulation, but even from being as fully appreciated as it deserved. It must also be added, that some of its changes could be, and have been in fact, rightly objected to. Thus: "the change of 'Christ' into 'Messiah,' and 'Gospel' into 'good tidings,' seems unnecessary, and likely to startle ordinary readers: for the rejected words have long become part of the language."[1]

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[1] The New Testament, by Francis P. Kenrick, 2d edit., Baltimore, 1862. General Introduction.

[2] Essay on The Catholic Versions of Scripture written on the occasion of Lingard's Translation. (Essays, vol. i, p. 100.)

The latest, and in several respects, the best translation of the Gospels, was put forth in 1898, by the Very Rev. Francis A. Spencer, O. P., under the title of "The Four Gospels. A new Translation from the Greek direct, with Reference to the Vulgate, and the Ancient Syriac Version." The learned author follows no single MS. or printed edition of the New Testament Greek, and "his choice among various readings," as he tells us in his *Introductory Remarks*,[2] "has chiefly been determined by a consensus of well-known editors, such as Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort, Lachmann and the translators of the Revised Version." He divides the evangelical narrative into *Parts* according to the various periods of Our Lord's life, and breaks it further into *Paragraphs*, according to the principal events recorded. The drift of his marginal notes is chiefly critical, and his footnotes are short, clear and usually correct. The usefulness of the book is enhanced by a *harmony* of the Synoptic Gospels indicated in the inner margins and by the mention of the Gospels for the Sundays and principal feasts of the year, in the margin opposite the opening words. It is not probable, however, that this "new version" will meet with a more lasting success than the various independent translations of the Gospels which have preceded it.

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[1] WISEMAN, loc. cit., p. 100. For other examples, see MOMBERT, A Handbook of the English Versions of the Bible.

[2] INTRODUCTORY REMARKS, p. vii.

3. Archbishop Kenrick's Bible. The foregoing account of the Catholic versions of Holy Writ proves conclusively that Catholic translators, who do not connect their work with the Douay Bible, can hope only for a transient favor with the public at large. This was realized by Archbishop Kenrick as early as 1849,[1] when beginning the publication of his translation of the Bible he disclaimed all intention "to substitute it in public acts for the received version," and simply called his work "a revision of the Rhemish translation."[2] The recent failure of Dr. Lingard's Version caused him to doubt whether his own translation "from the Latin Vulgate" would be more favorably received; and, in point of fact, he went cautiously about issuing its various parts. He began with the Four Gospels, which he put forth "partly with a view to test the feasibility of the work." Next came the Acts and Epistles with the Apocalypse (in 1851) as a natural completion of the translation of the New Testament. Six years later (1857), he published his version of the Psalms, "as likely to interest the clergy." The Prophets and Job appeared in 1859; and it was only in 1860 that he completed his Bible, by the publication of the Pentateuch and the Historical Books.

In his Introduction to the Book of Job, the translator gives us information about his aim, in the following manner: "My chief object from the commencement has been to present in a clear point of view the relation of the Vulgate itself to the text, and thus to furnish a vindication of its integrity. I have therefore continued to note, occasionally, at the foot of the page, the Hebrew MSS. and ancient versions which support its readings, and have pointed to the source of apparent discrepancies, often originating in mere difference of punctuation, or in a transposition of letters." Among other general purposes, he constantly aims at making theological students, for the special benefit of whom he writes, acquainted with Protestantand Rationalistic views.

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[1] He was only Bishop of Philadelphia at the time. He was promoted to the archiepiscopal See of Baltimore in 1851.

[2] Cfr. The Four Gospels, translated from the Latin Vulgate (1st edit. 1849). Title page, and Dedication to the Hierarchy of the United States.

Archbishop Kenrick's Text shows a closer adherence to the Vulgate in the Gospels than Lingard had deemed necessary ; yet he adopts freely Lingard's readings, as indeed those of the Authorized Version, whenever these seem to him preferable. In this connection, it is interesting to record the manner in which the learned translator speaks of the Latin Vulgate, and of his own method of work: "The learned," he says, "are agreed that in the books of the New Testament, its readings (those of the Vulgate) are generally preferable. In the Pentateuch it frequently gives a double version or paraphrase, or it abridges to avoid repetitions, so that, although it faithfully renders the substance, it is not as literal and close as the Protestant translation. In the historical books it scarcely has the advantage. In the Psalms, which came to us through the LXX, the Protestant Version, being made from the Hebrew, is preferable. In Ecclesiasticus much freedom of interpretation by way of paraphrase has been used. In the Prophets and Job the Vulgate is literal. Respecting it as an authentic version . . . I have, nevertheless, read the Hebrew Text with a disposition to prefer its readings, unless critical motives weighed in favor of the Vulgate. The Protestant Version, therefore, being close, I have not hesitated to prefer it, unless where doctrinal bias led its authors to select terms for controversial effect, or by paraphrases or otherwise to favor their peculiar tenets.

"The notes which mark the relation of the Vulgate to the text cannot be without interest, especially for students of theology and for the clergy, who should not be content with having before them the substance of revealed truth, but should know the precise terms in which it is delivered. . . ."[1]

The annotations are generally critical and explanatory. They are numerous, clear and instructive, and for the most part selected from the holy Fathers, although occasionally borrowed not only from Protestant, but even from Rationalistic sources. They have at times a controversial tone, but are more usually positive and moderate statements of the correct doctrine.[2]

§ 3. *The Protestant Translations.*

1. Translations Anterior to the Authorized Version. As already stated, the first men whose work exercised a real influence upon the gradual formation of the Protestant English Bible, and who, on that account, are reckoned as its true ancestors, had little to recommend them as translators of Holy Writ. "They had," says Blunt,[3] "too easy a confidence in their own abilities for this great work; and their translations met with an opposition from more learned scholars, which has thrown a sad shadow of disunion over the history of the Reformation Version of the Bible. Nor were the characters of the translators themselves such as were likely to command the respect of men under the responsibility of important offices in the Church." These words of a Protestant writer are not too severe to describe such men as (1) William TYNDALE (1471–1536), a Franciscan priest, who, having turned out a Protestant, undertook to publish a translation of the whole Bible from the original text, though he had but little knowledge of Hebrew;[1] (2) Miles COVERDALE (1487?–1568), an Augustinian monk, also an apostate from Catholicism, who "was no Greek or Hebrew scholar,"[2] although he is said to have assisted Tyndale in his rendering of the Pentateuch, so that his Bible was "only translated from the Dutch (i. e. German) and Latin;" and finally (3) John ROGERS (1500?–1555), also an apostate priest, who became a zealous reformer, and whose work in connection with the English Bible was practically limited to a slightly revised edition of the work of those who had gone before him.

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[1] General Introduction to the Historical Books (Sept., 1860).

[2] In 1862 Archbishop Kenrick gave a second edition of his volume on The Four Gospels. This was a truly revised edition, in the preparation of which new sources were consulted and special critical signs introduced into the text. No other part reached a second edition.

[3] A Key to the Knowledge and Use of the Holy Bible, p. 24.

It is neither necessary nor useful to give here details about the respective work of the three translators just mentioned. That of Tyndale, on the New Testament, was unquestionably the one destined to influence most the subsequent editions of the Protestant Bible, and the *revisers* of the Authorized Version in 1881 speak of "Tyndale's translation of the New Testament as the true primary version, for the versions that followed were either substantially reproductions of it in its final shape, or revisions of versions that had been themselves almost entirely based on it."[3] Of the Old Testament, Tyndale published himself only his translation of the Pentateuch and Jonas; the rest of his work (from Josue to II Chronicles inclusively) was embodied by John Rogers in what has been called the Matthew's Bible, from the pseudonym of "Thomas Matthew" which stood at the foot of the dedication. The work of Coverdale had as its principal merit that of being the first complete English Bible published,[1] whereas that of John Rogers is especially worthy of notice as marking the beginning of those revised editions which multiplied as time went on, and which are known in history under the names of the *Great Bible* (1539–1541), *Taverner's Bible* (1539) the *Geneva Bible* (1557–1560), and finally the *Bishops' Bible* (1578).

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[1] Cfr. SMITH, Dictionary of the Bible, vol. iv, pp. 3427, sq., 3431.

[2] KENYON, Our Bible and the Ancient MSS., p. 218.

[3] Preface to the Revised Version, p. v.

Of these revisions the principal ones are (1), the *Great Bible*, thus called from its large size, prepared by Coverdale and enjoined by Cromwell for popular use in every church: in contents it is Matthew's Bible, "skilfully edited and revised;"[2] (2) the *Geneva Bible*, thus named from the city where it was made by a few English refugees; it was based on the Great Bible in the Old Testament and Tyndale's last revision in the New, and it became by far the most popular Bible in England for private reading until the publication of the Authorized Version; (3) and finally, the *Bishops' Bible*, which derives its name from the fact that a certain number of the revisers were bishops; it was a direct revision of the Great Bible, whose diverse parts were variously altered, and it seems to have been used almost exclusively for public services.[3]

2. The Authorized Version (1611). It was at the conference held at Hampton Court between the Conformists and the Puritans (Jan. 14, 16 and 18, 1604), and presided over by James I, that Dr. John Reynolds, leader of the Puritans, suggested to the king the desirableness of a new translation of Holy Writ, on the ground that the "versions allowed in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward

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[1] The Psalter of Coverdale is the basis of the version of the Psalms still found in the Book of Common Prayer.

[2] J. I. MOMBERT, art. English Versions, in Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia of Religious Knowledge, vol. i.

[3] The student will find details about these various revisions in MOMBERT, KENYON, STOUGHTON, etc.

VI were corrupt and not answerable to the truth of the original." The king at once declared himself favorable to a new translation, but objected to any notes being appended, declaring that those of the Geneva Version were untrue and seditious.[1] Nothing, however, was settled at the Conference beyond the hope thus held out.

On the 22d of July, in the same year, the king, who had become interested in the project of a new version, announced that he had chosen fifty-four learned men to do the work, but without any expense to himself. Professing his own poverty, he held out before the revisers the hope of Church preferment, giving order to the bishops to that effect; while for their immediate expenses he called, though in vain, upon the bishops and chapters to contribute towards the required fund. At the Chancellor's suggestion, the translators met at the universities, where they received board and lodging free of cost. The list of the revisers contains the names of forty-seven scholars only, who formed themselves into six companies, two meeting at Westminster, two at Cambridge and two at Oxford, and the parts of the original which each company undertook to translate were distributed among the members.[2] They were to work according to fifteen rules, drawn up probably by Bancroft, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and indorsed by the king. The Bishops' Bible was to be followed, and as little altered as the truth of the original would permit. The old ecclesiastical words were to be kept, viz., the word *church* not to be translated *congregation*, etc. No marginal notes were to be affixed, except for the explanation of the Hebrew and Greek words which might require it. Each member of a company must first translate a passage, then his work must be submitted to the company to which he belonged, and finally revised by the other companies, ultimate differences of opinion being reserved to a general meeting of six members of each company. Learned men outside the board of revisers might be consulted, and the versions to be used when they agreed better with the original than the Bishop's Bible were pointed out to the translators.[1]

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[1] They were naturally Calvinistic in character, and therefore little favorable to the royal government.

[2] The two Westminster groups revised Genesis–IV Kings, and Romans–Jude; the Oxford groups Isaias–Malachias, and the Gospels, Acts, with the Apocalypse; while those at Cambridge undertook I Chronicles to Ecclesiastes, and the deutero-canonical writings. The list of their names is given by BLUNT, loc. cit., p. 28.

How closely these rules were adhered to cannot be ascertained at the present day; for it does not appear that any of the correspondence connected with the execution of the work or any minutes of the revisers' meetings for conference is now extant. "Never," rightly observes Scrivener, "was a great enterprise like that of our Authorized Version carried out with less knowledge handed down to posterity of the laborers, their method and order of working."[2] All we know in regard to their proceedings is limited to hints found in the works of the learned John Selden (1584–1654), and of Robert Gell, the chaplain to Archbishop Abbot, one of the revisers. The former, in his *Table Talk*, tells us that "at the meeting of translators one read the translation (he had prepared privately), the rest holding in their hands some Bible, either of the learned tongues, or French, Spanish, Italian, etc.; if they found any fault, they spoke; if not, he read on." The latter helps us to represent to ourselves "the differences of opinion, settled by the casting vote of the 'odd man,' or by the strong, overbearing temper of a man like Bancroft, the minority comforting themselves with the thought that it was no new thing for the truth to be outvoted," and to realize "that dogmatic interests were in some cases allowed to bias the translation, and the Calvinism of one party, the prelatic views of another, were both represented at the expense of accuracy."[1]

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[1] These versions were Tyndale's, Matthew's, Coverdale's, Whitchurch's (a special edition of the Great Bible), and the Geneva Bible.

[2] Introduction to the Cambridge Paragraph Bible.

The work of revision, formally taken in hand in 1607, occupied two years, after which began the final revision by a committee of six—two out of each group—who met in London for the purpose. They completed their task in the short space of nine months; and in 1611 the new Bible issued from the press with the title: "The Holy Bible, conteyning the Old Testament and the New. Newly translated out of the originall Tongues: and with the former translations diligently compared and revised by his Majestie's speciall commandment. Appointed to be read in the Churches. Imprinted at London by Robert Parker, Printer to the King's most excellent Majestie. Anno Dom. 1611."[2]

It is difficult to understand why the words "Appointed to be read in the Churches" appear in this title-page, for there is no evidence of any decree ordaining its use, by either King, Privy Council, Parliament or Convocation,[3] although there is no doubt that it soon superseded the Bishops' Bible as the official version in public services. The *Dedication* to James I is chiefly conspicuous for its servile adulation, and the *Preface to the Reader* has little more value. In this latter document we are told by the revisers that "coming together for work, they have prayed to God for light, rendered the Hebrew and Greek texts, and worked without haste, consulting the translators or commentators, Chaldee, Hebrew, Syrian, Greek or Latin, Spanish, French, Italian, Dutch (i. e. Luther's version), and revising time and again their work before publishing it . . . ." They also claim credit for steering a middle course between the Puritans, who leave the old ecclesiastical words (putting *washing* for baptism, etc.), and the obscurity of the Papists retaining foreign words of purpose to darken the sense. In reality "the earlier versions of which the revisers of 1611 made most use were those of Rheims and Geneva. Tyndale, no doubt, fixed the general tone of the version more than any other translator, through the transmission of his influence down to the Bishops' Bible, which formed the basis of the revision; but many improvements in interpretation were taken from the Geneva Bible, and not a few phrases and single words from that of Rheims."[1] Again, the rapidity with which the final revision of their work was carried out shows that they did not always *work without haste*, and this haste is thus severely but justly censured by the authors of the *Revised Version* of 1881: "When it is remembered," they say, "that this supervision was completed in nine months, we may wonder that the incongruities which remain are not more numerous."[2]

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[1] SMITH, Bible Dictionary, art. Version, Authorized, p. 3436 (Amer. edit., vol. 4th).

[2] See a *fac-simile* of the title page in Ph. SCHAFF, A Companion to the Greek Testament and English Version, fourth edit., p. 570.

[3] Yet it is from these words that the King James' Version, as it is often called, has received its common name of the *Authorized* Version.

As might well be expected in a translation, undertaken and carried out by such a number and variety of scholars as the Authorized Version, the various parts of the Bible are unevenly rendered. In the Old Testament, Genesis–IV Kings, and Isaias–Malachias, rank first, and the remainder of the proto-canonical books, and especially Job and the Psalms, are decidedly inferior. In the New Testament, the Acts, Gospels and Apocalypse rank in the order named for the ability with which the translation was executed, while the Epistles are considered as the worst translated among the proto-canonical books. Naturally enough, the deutero-canonical books are the worst rendered of the whole Bible.[3]

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[1] KENYON, Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts, p. 233.

[2] Preface to the Revised Version of the New Testament, p. 7. Cfr., also, CONANT, History of Bible Translation, chap. xxxi, p. 259.

[3] MOMBERT, A Handbook of the English Versions of the Bible, pp. 375, 379 (1st edit.)

A striking and happy literary feature of the Authorized Version is the predominance of Saxon. Gibbon has about seventy, Johnson about seventy-five, Swift eighty-nine, Shakespeare about eighty-five, and the Authorized Version more than ninety Saxon words in every hundred employed. So that from this point of view King James' translation ranks very high. In fact, the style of the Authorized Version is equally admired by friends and opponents. "All the words used in it," says Trench, "are of the noblest stamp, alike removed from vulgarity and pedantry; they are neither too familiar, nor, on the other side, not familiar enough; they never crawl on the ground, as little are they stilted and far-fetched. And then how happily mixed and tempered are the Anglo-Saxon and the Latin vocables! No undue preponderance of the latter makes the language remote from the understanding of simple and unlearned men."[1] "Who will say," exclaims Fred W. Faber, after his conversion, "that the uncommon beauty and marvellous English of the Protestant Bible is not one of the great strongholds of heresy in this country? It lives on the ear like a music that can never be forgotten, like the sound of church bells, which the convert hardly knows how he can forego. Its felicities often seem to be almost things rather than mere words. It is part of the national mind, and the anchor of national seriousness. Nay, it is worshipped with a positive idolatry, in extenuation of whose grotesque fanaticism its intrinsic beauty pleads availingly with the man of letters and the scholar."[2]

At the same time, the praise bestowed upon the literary beauty of the version of 1611 should not be exaggerated. Occasionally the truth of the original is sacrificed to the beauty of the English; some unseemly phrases in the Old Testament could have been easily avoided by the translators,[1] and the studied variety in its renderings, which was adopted by the authors of the King James Version, has produced a degree of inconsistency which "cannot be reconciled with the principle of faithfulness."[2] Finally, as a translation, the Authorized Version is marred by numerous errors in geography, and proper names; by grammatical errors as to tenses, article, construction, etc., in the Old Testament; and in the New, by mistakes of meaning; by confusion of the aorist and perfect and other tenses; by inadequate renderings, etc.[3]

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[1] TRENCH, On the English of the Authorized Version, quoted by SCHAFF, A Companion to the Greek Testament and the English Version (4th edit.), p. 345, sq.

[2] FABER, in The Dublin Review, June, 1853, p. 466.

Judged from a critical standpoint, the version of 1611 is devoid of real value. The translators used no documentary sources, and were mostly confined to a few printed editions of the *Textus Receptus* of the Old and New Testaments. Even in their changes of the renderings of the Bishops' Bible it is clear that their critical power is at times very limited, and that the improvements introduced are no proof of independent work on their part.[4]

Perhaps the most objectionable feature about the Authorized Version arises from the fact that, differently from the Douay Bible, cases of wilful perversion of Scripture have been brought home to its Protestant authors. In his *History of the Protestant Reformation*,[5] Archbishop M. J. Spalding states as a fact that "the version of King James, on its first appearance in England, was openly decried by the Protestant ministers as abounding in gross perversions of the original text." We have heard already Rob. Gell, the chaplain to Dr. Abbott, the Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury, describing to us how "dogmatic interests were in some cases allowed to bias the translation, and the Calvinism of one party, the prelatic views of another, were both represented at the expense of accuracy." Here we shall give only one recent Protestant testimony, viz., that of Bishop Ellicott, who does not fear to say that, "in spite of the very common assumption to the contrary, there *are* many passages (in the version of 1611) from which erroneous doctrinal inferences have been drawn, but where the inference comes from the translation, and not the original."[1] In point of fact, such passages as Matt. xix, 11; I Cor. vii, 9; ix, 5; xi, 27; Heb. x, 38, etc., have justly been pointed out by Archbishop Kenrick,[2] as so many dogmatic erroneous renderings, and it is only right to add that some of these have been corrected by the revisers of 1881.

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[1] Cfr. SCHAFF, loc. cit., p. 341, sq.

[2] Preface to the Revised Version of the New Testament (1881), (8vo edit.), p. 11. For example, the Greek verb μενειν is rendered by "to abide, remain, continue, tarry, dwell, endure, be present;" the conjunction καὶ is translated: "and, even, also, but, yet, then, so, when, therefore, if."

[3] For details, see MOMBERT, loc. cit., p. 399, sq.; and also The Revision of the New Testament, by LIGHTFOOT, TRENCH, and ELLICOTT.

[4] Cfr. MOMBERT, loc. cit., pp. 391, sqq.

[5] Seventh edition, vol. i, p. 308.

3. The Revised Version (1881, 1885). If one had judged of the future fortune of the Authorized Version by the manner in which it was received at first in England, he would have been naturally led to foretell its final rejection. The Bishops' Bible continued to be used in many churches, and the popularity of the Geneva translation remained intact, as is shown by the fact that no less than thirteen editions of it (in whole or in part), were issued between 1611 and 1617. Protestant ministers found fault very commonly with the renderings of King James' translation and the best Hebraist of the day, Hugh Broughton († 1612) attacked it with vigor. Broughton's opposition was continued by so great a scholar as Jn. Lightfoot († 1675), who, in a sermon before the House of Commons, delivered in 1646, argued powerfully for "a review and survey of the translation of the Bible, that the three nations might come to understand the proper and genuine study of the Scriptures by an exact, vigorous and lively translation." Feeling ran so high against the Authorized Version, that in the very midst of the agitations of the Commonwealth, an order for a new revision of the Scriptures was introduced in the Long Parliament in 1652 and again in 1656, and was long discussed by a special committee of the House of Commons.[1] No report, however, was made, and after the restoration of the Stuarts, "the tide of conservative feeling, in this, as in other things, checked all plans of further alteration. Many had ceased to care for the Bible at all. Those who did care were content with the Bible as it was. Only here and there was a voice raised, like Rob. Gell's, declaring that it had defects, that it bore in some things the stamp of the dogmatism of a party."[2] Gradually King James' Version came into general use, till, "with the reign of Anne (1702-1714) the tide of glowing panegyric set in,"[3] and the schemes for revision became very rare.

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[1] Considerations on the Revision of the English Version of the New Testament, p. 89; see also p. 88, where he speaks of "passages in which the error is of a doctrinal nature. . . ."

[2] Theologia Dogmatica, vol. i, p. 427, sq. (Philadelphia, 1839). Cfr. also F. W. FABER, in The Dublin Review, June, 1853, p. 466, sq.

Only with the last quarter of the eighteenth century did serious schemes for a revision reappear. Then it was that men of real learning, such as Durell, Lowth, Blayney, Kennicott, Geddes, Newcome, etc., contended that the Authorized Version was far from perfect, that the Hebrew Text its authors had rendered into English should not have been closely adhered to, etc. Nor was their contention purely theoretical, for these distinguished scholars issued versions of particular books which may be regarded as productions truly calculated to prepare for a larger and united effort. "But in 1796 the note of alarm was sounded. A feeble pamphlet by George Burges (*Letter to the Lord Bishop of Ely*) took the ground that 'the present period was unfit,' and from that time, conservatism pure and simple was in the ascendant. To suggest that the Authorized Version might be inaccurate was almost as bad as holding 'French (i. e. revolutionary) principles.' There is a long interval before the question again comes into anything like prominence. . . ."[1]

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[1] For details, see STOUGHTON, Our English Bible, p. 272, sqq.

[2] PLUMPTRE, art. Version, Authorized, in SMITH, Bible Dict., Amer. edit., vol. iv, p. 3437.

[3] PLUMPTRE, ibid.

The question came up again into prominence towards the middle of the nineteenth century, and slowly something like a consensus of English-speaking scholars of England and America was formed for a revision. Foremost among the promoters of this consensus were the Anglican bishops, Ellicott and Trench, whose words, at once bold and wise, went far towards reconciling the mind of many among the clergy and the laity, with the idea of the possibility, and even the necessity, of a revision.[2] Scholarly attempts at translations which gradually multiplied, and which united a profound reverence for the old translators and their work, together with a sincere desire to produce an improved Version of Holy Writ, convinced many of the feasibility of a revision, and were at the same time positive contributions towards its accomplishment. [3]

The reasons chiefly urged to gradually prepare a change in public opinion, were the following: (1) the translation of the New Testament had been made from a text confessedly imperfect, and since 1611 the Greek Text had reached a condition far nearer the *ipsissima verba* of the inspired writers. In like manner, the translation of the Old Testament had been made too closely from the Hebrew *Textus Receptus* considered at the time as perfectly faultless; (2) obsolete words had to be changed; others, in a goodly number, had been slowly passing into a different sense, and were therefore no longer adequate renderings; (3) endless variations in renderings evidently needed correction; (4) "grammatical inaccuracy was a defect pervading more or less the whole extent of the Authorized Version of the New Testament. . . . The true force of tenses, cases, prepositions, articles, is continually lost, sometimes at the cost of the finer shades which give vividness and emphasis, but sometimes also entailing more serious errors;"[1] (5) the Hebrew meanings had not been determined by means of forms in the cognate Semitic languages, and Hebrew grammars, lexicons, commentaries, etc., had been greatly improved during the nineteenth century; (6) even doctrinal errors were at times insisted upon as showing that the revision was something of a moral duty.[2]

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[1] PLUMPTRE, ibid., p. 3439.

[2] The words of ELLICOTT, in his Preface to his Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles are vigorous, and even now deserve to be read (pp. viii–x).

[3] A list of these Revisions or New Translations, is given in SMITH, Bible Dict., Amer. edit., vol. iv, p. 3444. There was even an attempt at a Revision of the (whole) Authorized Version, by Five Clergymen; but the work has remained incomplete.

At length, after upwards of a century of discussion and attempts, a new and more successful step towards a revision was taken by both Houses of the Convocation of Canterbury. In February, 1870, they unanimously passed a resolution to the effect "that a Committee of both Houses be appointed, with power to confer with any committee that may be appointed by the Convocation of the Northern Province (that of York), to report upon the desirableness of a Revision of the Authorized Version of the Old and New Testaments, whether by marginal notes or otherwise, in all those passages where plain and clear errors, whether in the Hebrew or

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[1] PLUMPTRE, loc. cit., p. 3441. For examples, see SCHAFF, A Companion to the Greek Testament and English Version (4th edit.), pp. 350–359.

[2] For details, cfr. The Revision of the New Testament, by LIGHTFOOT, TRENCH and ELLICOTT.

Greek Text originally adopted by the translators, or in the translation made from the same, shall, on due investigation, be found to exist." Eight members of the Upper, and sixteen of the Lower, House were appointed the Committee of the Convocation of Canterbury, and the Convocation of the Northern Province declined to co-operate with the Southern in this inquiry, on the ground that "the time was not favorable for revision, and the risk was greater than the probable gain."

Early in May, the Committee of the Southern Province presented a report, in consequence of which the following fundamental resolutions were adopted: (1) that it is desirable that a revision of the Holy Scriptures be undertaken; (2) that the revision be so conducted as to comprise both marginal renderings and such emendations as it may be found necessary to insert in the text of the Authorized Version; (3) that, in the above resolutions, we do not contemplate any new translation of the Bible, or any alteration of the language, except where, in the judgment of the most competent scholars, such change is necessary; (4) that in such necessary changes, the style of the language employed in the existing version be closely followed; (5) that it is desirable that Convocation should nominate a body of its own members to undertake the work of revision, who shall be at liberty to invite the co-operation of any eminent for scholarship, to whatever nation or religious body they may belong."

The Committee accordingly appointed resolved, that two companies should be formed for the revision of the Authorized Version of the Old Testament and the New Testament, respectively; that the first should consist of four bishops and four members of the Lower House, together with eighteen scholars and divines; that the second should also consist of four bishops, four members of the Lower House, and nineteen invited scholars and divines.

Soon after these two companies had begun their work, the Committee of Convocation sought the co-operation of American scholars, in order to furnish a revision for the churches which had used so far the Authorized Version. The negotiations, begun in August, 1870, were conducted mainly through Ph. Schaff, of New York. Through his exertions, two companies of American revisers, "men of ability, experience and reputation in biblical learning and criticism, and fairly representing the leading churches and theological institutions of the United States,"[1] were formed before the close of 1871. After long negotiations referring to certain difficulties which stood in the way of co-operation, the American companies entered on their work on October 4, 1872.

The English and American Committees of Revision counted about eighty members, exclusive of about twenty more, who died or resigned after the work began. The principal British revisers were the *Exegetes* (Anglican) Trench, Ellicott, Lightfoot, Kay, Perowne, Alford; (from other denominations) Alexander, Angus, Brown, Fairbairn, Milligan; and the *Critics:* Tregelles, Scrivener, Westcott and Hort, Saml. Davidson.[2] The best-known scholars among the members of the American Committee were: W. H. Green, De Witt, Stowe, H. Thayer, Ezra Abbott, Ph. Schaff, H. B. Hackett, Conant and Day.

The principal rules to be applied by both Committees[3] in carrying out the revision of the New Testament are as follows: (1) to introduce as few alterations as possible in the text of the Authorized Version, consistently with faithfulness;

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[1] Ph. SCHAFF, The Revision of the English Version of the New Testament, Introduction, p. xvii.

[2] Newman, Pusey and Cook, declined; Tregelles did not, in fact, co-operate, on account of ill-health.

[3] These rules are given *in extenso*, in the *Preface* to The Revised Version of the New Testament.

(2) each company to go twice over the portion to be revised, once provisionally, the second time finally; (3) that the text to be adopted should be that for which the evidence is decidedly preponderating, and that when the text so adopted differs from that from which the Authorized Version was made, the alteration be indicated in the margin; (4) to make or retain no change in the text on the final revision by each company, except *two-thirds* of those present approve of the same; but on the first revision to decide by simple majorities; (5) in every case of proposed alteration that may have given rise to discussion, to defer the voting thereupon till the next meeting, whensoever the same shall be required by one-third of those present at the meeting.

The English and the American Committees submitted to each other portions of their work as they went along, and they issued one and the same edition, while the final variations of the American Committee were embodied in an Appendix.

After ten years and a half of work, the Revised New Testament appeared on May the 17th, 1881, with the title of "The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, translated out of the Greek: Being the Version set forth A. D. 1611, compared with the most ancient Authorities and Revised A. D. 1881." In their long *Preface*, the Revisers give, among other things, an account of their work "under the four heads of *Text*, *Translation*, *Language* and *Marginal Notes*."

Although the work is called a "revision," not a new translation, it is beyond doubt that, considered under those various heads, the Revised New Testament is rather a new version of the original with reference to the Authorized Version. Thus the text adopted as the basis of the new version differs so often and so considerably from the *Textus Receptus* practically followed by the translators of

1611, that it may really be called a new Greek Testament framed on documents which the critics on the Revision Committees considered as "most ancient," and as decidedly better than those which underlie the *Textus Receptus.* It is true that the margin of the Revised Version was supposed, in the rules originally laid down for the work of revision, to be sufficient to record textual alterations whenever "the text adopted would differ from that from which the Authorized Version was made." But in point of fact, "as it was found that a literal observance of this direction would often crowd and obscure the margin of the Revised Version, the revisers judged that its purpose might be better carried out in another manner. They therefore communicated to the Oxford and Cambridge University Presses a full and carefully corrected list of the readings adopted which are at variance with the readings presumed to underlie the Authorized Version, in order that they might be published independently in some shape or another."[1] This list has been published, and it proves beyond doubt that, in thousands of places, the readings "presumed to underlie the Authorized Version" weighed very little in the eyes of the majority of the revisers.

As with the text, so with the *Translation* and the *Language:* the Revised Version contains alterations incomparably more numerous than had been contemplated by the rules at first laid down for the work of revision. To some extent, this was the natural outcome of the larger number of textual variations adopted by the revisers. But beside alterations due to this source, a very large number of others were introduced, where "faithfulness in rendering" was in no way at stake, and consequently where they could not be called necessary.[1] Finally, the *Marginal Notes* differ likewise considerably from those of the Authorized Version, both in character and in number. In general, they wear a more critical appearance in the Revised Version; and in particular, the "notes recording alternative renderings in difficult or debatable passages are numerous, and largely in excess," so the revisers tell us, "of those which were admitted by our predecessors."[2]

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[1] F. H. A. Scrivener, The New Testament in the Original Greek according to the Text followed in the Authorized Version, together with the variations adopted in the Revised Version; Preface, pp. v, vi. The most important variations are connected with Matt. vi, 13; Mark. xvi, 9–20; Luke xxii, 43, 44; John v, 3; viii, 53—viii, 11; Col. ii, 2; I Tim. iii, 16; I John v, 7, 8. The minor ones are numberless, as can be seen by perusing the work of Scrivener just referred to.

When we bear in mind that the sum total of the departures from King James' Version has been estimated, as regards the New Testament alone, at over 36,000,[3] it is easy to imagine something of the dismay with which the Revised New Testament was received in many quarters, by men thoroughly familiar with the words and the minutest details of the Authorized Version. "Most of them," well observes Ph. SCHAFF, "had previously resisted all attempts at revision as a sort of sacrilege, and found their worst fears realized. They were amazed and shocked at the havoc made with their favorite notions and pet texts. How many sacred associations, they said, are ruthlessly disturbed! How many edifying sermons spoiled! Even the Lord's Prayer has been tampered with, and a discord thrown into the daily devotions. The inspired text is changed and unsettled, the faith of the people in God's holy Word is undermined, and aid and comfort given to the enemy of all religion."[4]

"The first and the prevailing impression," says the same critic,[1] "was one of disappointment and disapproval, especially in England. . . . Many were in hopes that the revision would supersede commentaries, and clear up all the difficulties; instead of that, they found the same obscurities, and a perplexing number of marginal notes, raising as many questions of reading or rendering. The liberals looked for more, the conservatives for fewer, departures from the old version. Some wanted the language modernized, others preferred even the antiquated words and phrases, including the 'whiches' and the 'devils.' A few would prefer a more literal rendering; but a much greater number of critics, including some warm friends and even members of the Committee, charge the revision with sacrificing grace and ease, poetry and rhythm, to pedantic fidelity. The same objection is made by literary critics who care more for classical English than the homely Hebraistic Greek of the Apostles and Evangelists."

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[1] This can be best realized by means of such works as The Diacritical Edition of the Holy Bible, published for the purpose of comparison between the two versions, by Rufus WENDELL. Cfr. also Ph. SCHAFF, A Companion to the Greek Testament and the English Version, p. 434, sqq.

[2] *Preface* to the Revised New Testament, p. xiii.

[3] Cfr. Ph. SCHAFF, loc. cit., p. 418.

[4] SCHAFF, ibid., p. 413.

In justice it must be said that the Revised New Testament is, in several respects, superior to the corresponding part in the Authorized Version. Textual corrections, improved renderings, suppressed inconsistencies, etc., could be mentioned in large number,[2] so that it is not surprising to find that it has been steadily gaining ground among the scholars of the various denominations. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that in numerous cases regarding either the text[3] or the translation and language,[4] the Authorized Version is decidedly better. Upon the whole, the Revised New Testament cannot lay claim to be, and is not in fact, considered as a final translation of the original Greek, or even as a really successful revision of King James' Version.[1]

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[1] Schaff, ibid., p. 412, sq. It should be remembered that Ph. SCHAFF was the President of the American Revision Committee.

[2] For numerous examples, see Ph. SCHAFF, loc. cit., p. 420, sq.

[3] See in particular the work (however exaggerated in its tone) of Dean J. W. BURGON, entitled The Revision Revised.

[4] See, especially, Washington MOON, The Revisers' English. In connection with the question of the *Language*, this English literary critic says justly: "The American company of revisers suggested many very judicious emendations which unfortunately were not duly appreciated by the English revisers" (p. 117).

While the Revised Version of the New Testament was assailed by critics in all directions, and was declared by a very large number of them wholly unfit to displace the old version, the revision committees of England and America were pursuing the arduous task of completing their translation of the proto-canonical books of the Old Testament.[2] Only four years later (in 1885) did they give to the public the result of their prolonged labors. The entire Bible appeared then, under the general title of "The Holy Bible containing the Old and New Testaments translated out of the Original Tongues: being the Version set forth A. D. 1611. compared with the most Ancient Authorities and revised."

In their *Preface* to the Old Testament the revisers tell us[3] that "as the state of knowledge on the subject of the original text is not at present such as to justify any attempt at an entire reconstruction of the text on the authority of the versions, they have thought it more prudent to adopt the Massoretic Text as the basis of their work, and to depart from it, as the authorized translators had done, only in exceptional cases." This they have really done, and in consequence, as they practically rendered the same text as the translators of 1611, the Revised Old Testament is mnch less altered than the New. Alterations of the Authorized Version are much more numerous in interpretation and language than in text, but it cannot be denied that in most changes—especially as regards the interpretation of the prophetical and poetical books—the revisers were particularly happy. It is only natural, therefore, to find that when the Revised Old Testament was put forth, the popular verdict was more favorable to it than it had been four years previously to the Revised New Testament. "The improvements in interpretation of obscure passages were obvious, while the changes of language were less numerous; moreover, the language of the Old Testament books being less familiar than that of the Gospels, the changes in it passed with less observation."[1] On the other hand, the verdict of scholars was at first, and is still, less favorable to the revision of the Old Testament than to that of the New. It is rightly felt that in many cases the revisers did not avail themselves freely enough of all the critical work which has been going on during the last hundred years, and that they did not sufficiently take into account the numerous emendations of the Hebrew Text upon which Textual Critics are fully agreed. It seems, therefore, that the Revised Old Testament must be regarded as "decidedly behind the scholarship of the age. The work was timid and cautious. There is little doubt that the next revision, whenever it takes place, will be bolder and freer, and that the ancient versions, especially the Septuagint, will play a larger part in the work."[2]

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[1] See the admissions of Ph. SCHAFF, in his work so often already referred to, p. 416, sq.

[2] The revision of the deutero-canonical books was not initiated by convocation, but by the University Presses, which commissioned a company, formed from the Old and New Testament Companies, to carry out the work. The Revised "Apocrypha," as they are called, appeared in 1895.

[3] Preface, p. v (octavo edit.).

Here we bring to a close our account of the versions of Holy Writ. It would be, of course, easy to add to it details concerning the German, French, Hollandish, etc., translations. But as these various versions have little or no critical value, and as their study would likely be of comparatively little interest, we simply refer the student for details to the following works :

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[1] Frederic G. KENYON, Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts, p. 244.

[2] J. Paterson SMYTH, The Old Documents and the New Bible, 3d edit., p. 185. See, also, substantially the same verdict in BRIGGS, The Study of Holy Scripture, p. 216.

Catholic. Trochon, Introduction Générale, p. 456, sqq. ; Cornely, Introductio Generalis, p. 482, sqq. ; Chauvin, Leçons d'Introduction Générale, p. 405, sqq. ; Kaulen, Einleitung in die heilige Schrift ; Vigouroux, Dictionnaire de la Bible, articles *Allemandes* (Versions) ; *Françaises* (Versions) ; etc.

Non-Catholic. J. W. Beardslee, The Bible among the Nations. See, also, articles in Dictionaries and Cyclopædias, such as Smith's, Schaff-Herzog's, etc.

PART THIRD.

BIBLICAL HERMENEUTICS.

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER XVI.

General Principles of Biblical Interpretation.

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  - 1. Nature of Biblical Hermeneutics.
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CHAPTER XVI.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION.

§ 1. *Nature and Divisions of Biblical Hermeneutics.*

1. Nature of Biblical Hermeneutics. Of the three great parts of a General Introduction to the Holy Scriptures, the one which immediately prepares the student for his personal study of the sacred text is that which is usually designated under the name of *Biblical Hermeneutics*. Neither Biblical *Canonics*, which teaches him what are the books he must regard as Holy Writ, nor Biblical *Textual Criticism*, which makes him acquainted with the means available to restore the sacred text to its primitive purity, directly help him to seize the correct meaning of the inspired records. It is different with Biblical *Hermeneutics*, whose very name, derived from the Greek ἑρμηνεύειν, to explain, bespeaks its most intimate connection with the actual interpretation of the Word of God. At the present day the term *Hermeneutics*, when used in regard to the sacred text, is generally understood to mean the science of the principles according to which the Bible should be interpreted.[1]

It is true that the general laws which govern the interpretation of ancient books hold good, to a very large extent, in the interpretation of the Canonical Books. Yet it cannot be denied that, owing to their Oriental, and, more particularly, to their sacred character, the inspired records of the Old and New Testaments demand to be interpreted by means of special rules which make up the domain of Biblical Hermeneutics.[1]

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[1] *Exegesis* from the Greek ἐξηγεῖσθαι, to explain, is a word of identical import to *Hermeneutics*. Commonly, however, the former word denotes the commentary or interpretation of the text; while the latter applies to the science of the principles upon which Exegesis should be conducted.

2. Divisions of Biblical Hermeneutics. As might naturally be expected, a different view of this domain is taken by the various writers on General Introduction. While some think it necessary to deal with certain principles of interpretation, others deem it superfluous because they consider them as plain and obvious. Again, other writers devote an entire section of their treatise on Biblical Hermeneutics to setting forth and illustrating peculiar exegetical rules, while others give to them only a passing notice, or at least think it unnecessary to insist on them at length. Perhaps the most elaborate division of Biblical Hermeneutics, and one which has been adopted more or less fully by subsequent writers, is the following, proposed in 1852, by J. E. CELLÉRIER.[2] (1) *Grammatical* Hermeneutics, or the collection of rules which guide the interpreter in ascertaining the precise meaning of the words and phrases which he meets with in the original languages of the Bible; (2) *Historical* Hermeneutics, or the body of rules concerning the influence which the external relations of position, time, country, etc., have exercised upon the sacred writer; (3) *Scriptural* Hermeneutics, or a class of rules deduced from the general study of the Bible itself and from a special consideration of its various parts; (4) *Doctrinal* Hermeneutics, which guide us in our search for, and determination of, the divine revelation made known to us in Scripture; (5) finally, *Psychological* Hermeneutics, dealing with certain dispositions (intellectual and moral), which an interpreter should possess in the accomplishment of his task.

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[1] For further information, see CHAUVIN, op. cit., p. 436, sq.

[2] CELLÉRIER'S work is entitled: Manuel d'Herméneutique Biblique; an abridged translation of it has been published by ELLIOTT and HARSHA, Biblical Hermeneutics, New York, 1881.

It is plain that these and other such elaborate divisions of Biblical Hermeneutics are the work of writers who aim at what they consider to be a complete treatment of the subject. In reality they include under the name of Biblical Hermeneutics topics which belong to other departments of scriptural knowledge, or which do not of themselves require to be developed in order to fit the student for a personal and profitable study of the sacred text. Our treatment of Hermeneutics in the present volume will be of a far more elementary kind: after having briefly set forth the General Principles of Interpretation absolutely necessary to guide the student in understanding Holy Writ, we shall give a rapid sketch of the principal Periods in the History of Interpretation.

§ 2. *The Various Senses of Holy Writ.*

1. The Literal Sense. The first duty of an interpreter of Holy Writ, is to inquire into the sense which the writer of a sacred book intended proximately and directly to convey through the words he used.[1] This sense, which is now commonly called the *literal* sense,[2] is plainly the primary object of the statements made by the writer, so that no one reading or explaining them can overlook it, without running the evident risk of missing the exact meaning of the book before him, and of reading into its words his own sense instead of that of the author.

As every writer can, and in fact does, freely use terms in their primitive and in their derived acceptation to express proximately and directly his mind, so there is a twofold literal sense to be recognized in a book of Holy Writ. If the words are employed in their natural and primitive signification, the sense which they express is the *proper literal* sense; whereas, if they are used with a figurative and derived meaning, the sense, though still literal, is usually called the *metaphorical* or *figurative* sense. For example, when we read in St. John i, 6, "There was a man whose name was John," it is plain that the terms employed here are taken properly and physically, for the writer speaks of a real man whose real name was John. On the contrary, when John the Baptist, pointing out Jesus, said, "Behold the Lamb of God" (John i, 29), it is clear that he did not use the word "lamb" in that same proper literal sense which would have excluded every trope or figure, and which would have denoted some *real* lamb: what he wished proximately and directly to express, that is, the literal sense of his words, was that in the derived and figurative sense Jesus could be called "the Lamb of God." In the former case, the words are used in their proper literal sense; in the latter, in their tropical or figurative sense.

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[1] Cfr. Jos. Dixon, Introduction to the Sacred Scriptures, vol. i, p. 174 (Baltimore, 1853).

[2] Latin writers on Hermeneutics give it also the name of the *historical* sense, imitating in this the Greeks, who at times call it the sense κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν. St. Thomas gives an excellent definition of the *literal* sense, when he says "est id quod ex ipsa verborum acceptione recte accipitur" (Quodlib. vii, quæst. 6, art. 14).

That the books of Holy Writ have a literal sense (proper or metaphorical, as just explained), that is, a meaning proximately and directly intended by the inspired writers, is a truth so clear in itself, and at the same time so universally granted, that it would be idle to insist on it here. The same holds good in regard to another question, which was formerly the object of much discussion among scholars, and which may be thus formulated: Has any passage of Holy Writ more than one literal sense? If we except a few contemporary interpreters of Holy Writ, the best known among whom is Dr. Franz SCHMID,[1] all admit that since the sacred books were composed by men, and for men, their writers naturally conformed to that most elementary law of human intercourse, which requires that only one precise sense shall be proximately and directly intended by the words of the speaker or writer. It is true that St. Augustine [1] maintained that some passages of Holy Writ had several literal senses, but it is no less true that no Father of the Church, before or after him, was of the same mind, so that this view of the illustrious Bishop of Hippo was clearly a personal, not a traditional one. It is also true that leading theologians of the past centuries have admitted several literal senses in connection with a few scriptural passages, such as Ps. ii, 7; Isai. liii, 4, 8, etc.; it is beyond doubt, nevertheless, that when these and other such texts are closely examined, they are found to yield but one literal sense, so that every other meaning which is connected with them is not the one proximately and directly intended by the sacred writer.[2]

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[1] De Inspirationis Bibliorum vi et Ratione, Brixinæ, 1885, p. 246, sqq.

2. The Typical Sense. Of the various meanings which Catholic interpreters have often considered as a second literal sense in some passages of Holy Writ, one claims the especial attention of the student of Biblical Hermeneutics. It is called the *spiritual* or *typical* sense, and is well described by St. Thomas in the following words: "The author of the Sacred Scripture is God, in whose power it is, not only to accommodate words to signify things, but also to make *the things themselves* significative. That first signification, therefore, by which the words signify things, belongs to the first (or primary) sense, which is historical or literal. But that signification, by which the things signified by the words, signify yet other things, is called the spiritual sense, which is founded upon, and supposes, the literal sense."[1] Thus the history of Isaac and Ismael, which is told us in the book of Genesis, had, beside the literal sense intended by the writer of that book, another, viz., a spiritual sense, which is made known to us in the Epistle to the Galatians, and according to which the facts recorded of Isaac and Ismael foreshadowed both Testaments.[2]

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[1] Cfr. On Christian Doctrine, Book iii, chap. xxvii; Confessions, Book xii, chap. xxxi, etc.

[2] For details, see CORNELY, Introductio Generalis, p. 522, sqq.; TROCHON, Introduction Générale, p. 508, sqq.; CHAUVIN, Leçons d'Introduction Générale, p. 456, sqq.; C. H. TOY, Quotations in the New Testament; and commentators generally.

The spiritual sense may therefore be defined as that sense which the Holy Spirit intends to convey through the things, persons, events, etc., to which the words have a direct reference. These things, persons or events were so ordained by God as to foreshadow others, and, on that account, they can signify to us God's thoughts or purposes. They are called *types*,[3] and the name of *typical sense* is naturally given to the sense which is conveyed to us through them.

Usually the typical sense is divided into *allegorical*, *tropological* and *anagogical*, according to the three great classes of objects foreshadowed in Holy Writ. (1) The *allegorical* or *prophetic* sense is given by the types which refer to Christ and His Church, and the principal of which are either persons like Adam,[4] Melchisedech,[5] etc., or things, such as the ark,[6] the brazen serpent,[7] etc., or, finally, events, such as the dismissal of Agar and her child, etc. (2) The *tropological* or *moral* sense is derived from types which convey a lesson for our moral guidance. Thus the direction given to Israel in Deuteronomy (xxv, 4): "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out thy corn," teaches in the tropological sense pointed out by St. Paul (I Cor. ix, 9), the obligation under which Christians are to provide for the maintenance of the ministers of the Gospel. (3) The *anagogical* sense is suggested by objects which typify the things of the world to come. In that sense, Jerusalem, the capital city of Judæa, is the figure of the heavenly Jerusalem (Apoc. xxi, 2), and the temple of Solomon, the ancient tabernacle, and the Mosaic rites are but "the symbol and shadow of heavenly things" (Heb. viii, 5).[1]

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[1] Summa Theol., pars. i, quæst. i, art. x. The spiritual sense is also called *mystical*, because less obvious, more hidden than the literal sense.

[2] Gal. iv, 24.

[3] Cfr. Rom. v, 14; I Cor. x, 6, 11. The name of *antitypes* is given to the things, persons or events thus foreshadowed.

[4] Rom. v, 14; I Cor. xv, 45, 47.

[5] Heb. vii, 1–10.

[6] I Pet. iii, 20, 21.

[7] John iii, 14, 15.

It will be noticed that these examples of the various typical senses are at the same time clear proofs that the writers of the New Testament admitted the existence of a typical sense in the various books of the Old Testament. Their belief was in full harmony with the mind of their Jewish contemporaries, both in Palestine and in Alexandria,—as we see from various places of the Gospels and from the writings of Josephus and Philo[2]—and it has been shared in by the Fathers of the Church from the beginning[3] and by Catholic theologians and interpreters generally down to the present day. In fact, the illustrious Origen, and the Alexandrian school of Biblical Interpretation have seen types everywhere in the Old Testament, and although their view is an exaggerated one, it goes far towards showing how naturally the typical sense of Holy Writ is suggested by the general conception that the Old Testament dispensation was, even in its details, preordained to dispose men for the advent of Christianity.

Much more acceptable than this opinion of Origen, is the view entertained by some Catholic authors, that the existence of a typical sense should be admitted in connection with the persons and events spoken of in the writings of the New Testament. It is true that the New Testament dispensation is the fulfilment of that of the Old Testament, and is final from the standpoint of Revelation; yet it does not seem improbable that, in some other way, it may symbolize and prefigure events in the life of the Church through centuries.[1]

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[1] Of course one and the same object may be at the same time, a *prophetic*, *tropological*, and *anagogical* type. This is the case, for instance, with Jerusalem, which typifies, in the allegorical sense, the Christian Church, in the tropological, the Christian soul, in the analogical, heaven.

[2] CHAUVIN, Leçons d'Introduction Générale, p. 469.

[3] Cfr. St. CLEMENT of Rome, I Cor. xii; St. JUSTIN, Dial. against Trypho, chaps. xlii, cxiv, cxxi; St. IRENÆUS, CLEMENT of Alexandria, etc. Their texts are given in TROCHON, Introduction Générale, p. 554, sq.

It is clear that whoever admits the existence of a typical sense truly intended by God, as stated in the definition of it given above, must also admit its proving force wherever its existence is fully ascertained. In point of fact, the sacred writers of the New Testament appeal repeatedly to the mystical sense of passages of the Old Testament, in exactly the same manner as they appeal to the literal meaning of others.[2] As, however, Rationalists and Protestants generally deny the existence of such sense in the Holy Scriptures, it would avail nothing to draw an argument from the mystical sense against them. Besides, Catholic theologians think after St. Thomas, that one may all the more dispense with having recourse to the typical sense of the sacred books, because "this sense never conveys a truth necessary for our faith that is not found stated in a literal manner somewhere in Holy Writ."[3]

3. The Accommodative Sense. It is not always easy to distinguish between the typical, and another sense, which is called *accommodative*, because it consists in the *accommodation* or application of the Scripture to something, of which there is no question in the passage quoted, either in the literal or in the mystical sense. This accommodation or adaptation of the sacred words to an object to which they have no real reference may be made in two ways. One by extending their meaning to some matter like to that of which they really speak; as, for instance, if one would excuse his fault by saying in the words of Eve "Serpens decepit me;"[1] the other way is by applying the words of a passage to some subject quite foreign and unlike to that which is spoken of in Holy Writ; as for instance, if any one quoted the words of Ps. xvii, 26, "Cum sancto sanctus eris," intending thereby to point out the beneficial effects of good company for a man, whereas, in the text there is question of something entirely different, viz.: of God showing Himself kind and merciful to the kind and merciful man.

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[1] Cfr. I Cor. x, 16, 17, where we are told that the Eucharistic bread and wine are a figure of the mutual union of the faithful. In like manner, according to many Fathers, Martha and Mary typify the active and contemplative life; again, the bark of Peter on the stormy sea, is a striking image of the Church under persecution, etc. See CORNELY, loc. cit., p. 540 sq.; VIGOUROUX, Man. Biblique, vol. i, n. 166 bis, § 3; and more particularly St. THOMAS, Summa Theol., pars. i, quæst i, art. x.

[2] Cfr. Matt. ii, 15; Heb. i, 5. In these and other such passages, the New Testament writers are generally regarded as quoting the Old Testament in its typical sense.

[3] "Ex solo literali sensu posse trahi argumentum quia nihil sub spirituali sensu continetur fidei necessarium, quod Scriptura per literalem sensum alicubi manifeste non tradat" (St. THOMAS, Summa. Theol., pars. i, quæst. i, art. x.

Most of the time it is easy enough to distinguish this latter form of accommodation from the typical sense, but the case is oftentimes different in connection with the former way of adapting the words of the inspired records. A clear proof of this is found in the fact, that the best interpreters of Holy Writ are at variance when there is question of determining the places where the New Testament writers quote the Scriptures of the Old Testament in an accommodative sense. Thus while most Catholic commentators consider as taken at least in their typical sense, the words of the Old Testament which are quoted in the New with some such introductory formula as "ut adimpleretur quod dictum est . . ." some of our very best interpreters have maintained that passages quoted in this manner, may be[2] and in fact are at times applied by the Evangelists *per accommodationem*.[1] Of course, the same difficulty does not exist in connection with places where these introductory formulas are not used by the sacred writers. In such places most Catholic interpreters admit readily that passages from the Old Testament are quoted in the New in an accommodative sense, although they vary considerably in regard to the number of accommodations which should be recognized. In point of fact, the accommodative use of Holy Writ is granted by many to exist in the following places of the New Testament: Matt. vii, 23; x, 36; Luke xxiii, 30; Ephes. iv, 25; Rom. x, 16, 18; II Cor. viii, 15; Heb. xiii, 5; Apoc. xi, 4; etc.

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[1] Gen. iii, 13.

[2] See the valuable remarks of Card. WISEMAN on this point, in his Tenth Lecture on the Connection between Science and Revealed Religion.

Treading in the footsteps of the New Testament writers, the Fathers and Doctors of the Church have had frequent recourse to this accommodative sense in their expositions of the sacred text, and it is well known that the Church herself does the same in her liturgy. It is therefore allowable to the preacher of the Gospel to use it also in his sermons and instructions; provided, however, he be careful not to give it out as the real meaning of Holy Writ, or as a valid proof of Catholic doctrine. Far-fetched and disrespectful accommodations of the Word of God should of course be avoided.[2] Finally, there is no doubt that when employed with tact and genuine piety, the accommodative sense may prove highly useful and edifying.[3]

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[1] Thus MALDONATUS, S. J., in connection with Matt. viii, 17, says: "Quod a propheta (Isaia) de peccatis dictum erat, Evangelista ad morbos corporis accommodat . . . quia ita solet Matthæus prophetias non ad eumdem, sed ad similem sensum accommodare;" and in connection with Matt. iv, 14 sq., he writes: "suo more ad Christum accommodat (Evangelista), ut alias." Cfr. also MALDONATUS in Matt. ii, 18, 23; xiii, 35, etc. —See also SCHANZ, Comm. uber Matthæus, quoted in The Dublin Review, April, 1895, p. 330.

[2] Cfr. the Decree of the Council of Trent, Sess. iv, which inveighs strongly against such abuses.

[3] LEO XIII, in his Encyclical *Providentissimus Deus*, says expressly that kept within its proper limits, "it is a most valuable means of promoting virtue and piety" (p. 29, Official Transl.).

4. The Mythical Sense. Finally, another sense ascribed to Holy Writ, especially by Rationalistic scholars, is the *mythical* sense, thus called from the non-historical character of the facts under which certain ideas and truths are supposed to be taught to the reader. In the myth, as in the parable, the object of the writer, that which he intends to convey, is not necessarily the occurrence of a real fact, still less the correctness of the details he relates, but simply the idea or truth, historical, moral, religious, or otherwise, which he makes obvious to his reader by means of an apparently historical narrative. Those who, for instance, consider as mythical the account of man's temptation and fall, regard as non-historical the details which are given of the serpent's cunning speech to the woman, of the eating of an apple as the actual occurrence which constituted man's first sin, etc., and take them simply to be a peculiar way of setting forth the great religious truth that the first ancestors of mankind once fell away from their primitive innocence through wilful disobedience to their Maker. In order, therefore, to obtain the mythical sense of a writer, one must first disregard the peculiar dress suited to the notions of the writer's time and country, under which he conveyed his thought; and, secondly, grasp the idea or truth, moral, philosophical, religious, or even the historical fact, which the writer directly intended to teach or record.[1]

Concerning the quest of the mythical sense, which Rationalists of the nineteenth century have applied strictly to both the Old and the New Testaments, the Protestant Sam. DAVIDSON[1] speaks in the following forcible words: "To all who entertain a true regard for Revelation considered as a divine system, it is superfluous to say that the mythical interpretation is untenable, erroneous, and impious. With infernal zeal it sets itself to destroy the sacred character and truth of the books of Scripture. But the Bible is historical to such a degree as not to submit to this treatment without losing its essential characteristics. It is true that myths are interwoven with the histories of all heathen nations. They originated at a time when there was no authentic or true history. But the Scripture contains a system of doctrine based upon history, available for the instruction and moral renovation of men. If we strip it of its history, we take away the doctrine also; or reduce it at least to a meagre skeleton, without flesh and blood and vitality. We fritter away its contents to a shadow devoid of substance or solidity, where nothing is left but the few moral truths which each interpreter is pleased to deduce from the record. The Jewish religion as developed in the Old Testament was unfavorable to myths. They could not have been introduced into the sacred books unless it be affirmed that prophets and inspired men wrote at random, without the superintendence of the Spirit. To intersperse their compositions with such legends is contrary to all our notions of inspiration, and can only be attributed to them by such as deny their spiritual illumination. Nor is there any similarity between the Grecian myths and those alleged to exist in the Old Testament. The former have no natural connection with one another; they stand separate and isolated; while the narratives of the latter, from Moses to the latest prophet, form a continuous, connected series, without a parallel in the mythology of any nation. It is also observable that the sacred records are briefer in proportion to their antiquity; thus furnishing a presumption that they were not ornamented at a later period with a fabulous dress, or enlarged in adaptation to the rude notions of a vulgar people. Such conciseness as is found at the commencement of the Mosaic writings would not have appeared had myths constituted the entire history. The more barbarous the times, the more diffuse and gaudy should the myths have been to suit the prevailing taste. There is therefore no similarity between profane mythology and that which has been attributed to the Bible.

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[1] A myth, may be (1), *Historical*, that is, relating an occurrence not as it actually took place, but only in such a manner as it must have appeared to a rude age, with its sensuous modes of thinking and judging; (2), *Philosophical*, that is, derived either from pure speculation, or mainly from speculation combined with the data furnished by tradition; (3), *Poetical*, that is, fictions imagined by a poetical mind to amplify and adorn his writings; (4), *Mixed*, that is, in which some historical truth is mingled with a measure of philosophical speculation. These definitions are, of course, arbitrary, and one scholar considers as a *historical*, what another thinks to be a *philosophical* myth. (For details, see Sam. DAVIDSON, Sacred Hermeneutics, p. 207, sq.; p. 210, sq.)

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[1] Sacred Hermeneutics, p. 215.

"The introduction of myths into the New Testament is still more unscientific, improbable and pernicious. The time at which Jesus appeared was not a time of ignorance in the history of the world. . . . The Augustan era of literature was one of light and knowledge, unfavorable to the composition of myths. . . . In the New Testament, everything connected with the history of Jesus is so simple and unadorned—so artlessly related—so remote from strained efforts, that it were preposterous to suppose the existence of myths. . . . There is no mythical dress thrown around occurrences; fictitious ornaments beseemed neither the majesty of the Master whom the writers followed, nor their own artless habits of life and cogitation. They did not belong to the philosophers of their day, but to the humblest ranks of uneducated life; nor did they know the favorite decorations in which mythological writers wrapped up unpalatable truths . . . ."[1]

These remarks of Prof. Davidson dispose clearly and conclusively of the Rationalistic method of interpretation, which explains away every supernatural occurrence recorded in the Bible, by regarding all the miraculous features of the narrative as mythical. Are they equally conclusive against the view which, while admitting readily the historical character of the New Testament, and of most of the narratives found in the Old, grants, nevertheless, that the mythical element exists in the first chapters of Genesis and in some narratives of the book of Judges? Plainly, they have not appeared such to Samuel Davidson himself, who wrote thus at a somewhat later date: "The history of Samson is strongly tinged with the mythological and romantic. . . . His whole character savors of the exaggeration with which the traditions of later times embellish remote heroes. The deeds he performs exceed human strength, and are represented as supernatural. . . . In short, the character of Samson is such a singular compound as can only be accounted for on a principle common to the early history of most nations, which embellishes with the marvellous the old champions who were instrumental in their deliverance from oppressors. The legendary is begotten by popular tradition, and exalted in process of time into the miraculous. The history of Gedeon is also embellished with mythological exaggerations, which should not be construed as literary history. . . .

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[1] See, also, the valuable remarks of l'Abbé H. RAULT in connection with the *mythical* sense, in his Cours Elémentaire d'Ecriture Sainte, nouvelle édition (Paris, 1882), vol. i, pp. 95–102.

"These observations will help the reader to see in what light the miraculous character of many relations in the book of Judges should be viewed. Popular tradition magnified into the marvellous and superhuman the deeds of heroic men and patriots. Subtracting the legendary and mythological from the contents, there is little to detract from historical truth and credibility. . . ."[1]

It is this guarded manner of admitting the mythical sense in the interpretation of a comparatively few passages of

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[1] Sam. Davidson, An Introduction to the Old Testament, vol. i, p. 469, sqq. (London, 1862).

Holy Writ, which has been steadily gaining ground among Protestant scholars of the latter part of the nineteenth century, and which has apparently found some favor in the eyes of such recent Catholic writers as François Lenormant,[1] E. Babelon,[2] Father Chas. Robert,[3] and even Card. Meignan, who, after his long and careful study of the books of the Old Testament, seems not to maintain the strictly historical character of the first chapters of Genesis in the following passage:[4] "One should not look in the first chapters of Genesis so much for the strict history of the world and of mankind, as for a religious and philosophical account of that same history. Indeed, we do not hereby exclude from these chapters recollections of historical facts handed down by tradition; but, in relating them, the inspired writer has not aimed at absolute precision; he chiefly intended to set forth the moral teaching which they convey."[5]

Views of similar import had also been maintained long ago by such able scholars as Dom. Calmet († 1757),[6] and J. Jahn († 1817),[7] but these views were, and still are, almost universally rejected by Catholic interpreters.

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[1] Especially in his work: Les Origines de l'Histoire d'après la Bible et les Traditions des Peuples Orientaux.

[2] In his continuation of Lenormant's Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient. Cfr. vol. vi, p. 207.

[3] In La Revue Biblique, Oct., 1895, pp. 528–535.

[4] This passage is extracted from an article by the learned Cardinal, entitled, L'Eden, and published in The Correspondant, Feb., 1895.

[5] Owing to the great difficulty of rendering adequately Card. Meignan's idiomatic words, we subjoin the passage in the original French: "Il ne faut pas tant chercher dans les premiers chapitres de la Genèse une histoire précise du monde et de l'humanité, que la philosophie religieuse de cette histoire. Certes, nous ne nions pas, dans ces chapitres, les souvenirs de faits historiques conservés par la tradition; mais, en les relatant, l'auteur inspiré n'a point visé à une précision mathématique, il a voulu surtout mettre en relief la doctrine morale qui s'en dégage."

[6] See Calmet's Commentaire Littéral sur l'Epitre de St. Jude, verse 7; p. 350 (Paris, 1726).

[7] Introduction to the Old Testament, p. 242, sqq. (Eng. Transl.). Cfr. also Bishop Hanneberg, Histoire de la Révélation Biblique, vol. i, p. 239 (Paris, 1856).

§ 3. *Principal Rules of Interpretation.*

1. General Rules of Interpretation. As might naturally be expected, the practice of scriptural interpretation, like that of every other art, is submitted to general rules, the knowledge and use of which are of real value to any one who wishes to proceed safely or to become proficient in it. It would be easy to point out many such rules and to enlarge on them at considerable length ; but for the sake of brevity, we shall set forth here only those which it behooves most the student to bear in mind, and confine ourselves to a few remarks concerning them.

The first general principle which the interpreter of Holy Writ should realize and act upon, is *to follow the ordinary laws of human language.* This first rule has for its ground the very purpose which God had in view, when He employed human agents and human language for the composition of the sacred books. In thus acting, He clearly wished to adapt His revelation to our modes of thought and of expression, so that the biblical interpreter should ever consider the language used by the inspired writers as submitted to the ordinary laws of human language. This inference had been distinctly realized many centuries ago by St. Augustine, when he said : " Neque aliquo genere loquuntur Scripturæ quod in consuetudine humana non inveniatur, quia utique hominibus loquuntur ; "[1] and its ground had been clearly set forth by St. Hilary of Poitiers, in the following words : " Sermo divinus secundum intelligentiæ nostræ consuetudinem naturamque se temperat, communibus rerum vocabulis ad significationem doctrinæ et institutionis aptatis. Nobis enim et non sibi loquitur Deus, atque ideo nostris utitur in loquendo."[2]

A second law of interpretation, which is no less general in its application, and which is certainly of more practical import than the one just given, prescribes *ready conformity to the decisions and even to the common sentiment of the Church.* Whoever believes sincerely that the Church of God is "the pillar and ground of the truth,"[1] will feel no repugnance at any time to submit to the decisions of that same Church regarding the meaning of the Holy Scriptures. Most readily will he accept as the exact meaning of a passage, the sense which he will know to have been defined by the Church, whether this definition was made *positively*, as when the Council of Trent declared authoritatively that the words: "This is My body,"[2] mean that the body of Christ is really and substantially under the species of bread and wine; or only *negatively*, as when the same Council condemned as false the interpretation which sees in the words: "Whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them, and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained,"[3] a reference not to the power of remitting sins in the tribunal of penance, but only to the power of preaching the Gospel.

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[1] De Trinitate, Book i, chap. xii (cfr. MIGNE, Patr. Lat., vol. xlii, col. 837).

[2] Comm. on Ps. cxxi (Patr. Lat., vol. ix, col. 695).

Very willingly, too, will he comply with the most wise rule of interpretation, which the same Church of God first framed in the Council of Trent, and which it solemnly repeated in the Council of the Vatican, viz.: that in matters of faith and morals the Catholic interpreter shall carefully abstain from ascribing to a passage a meaning which would be opposed to the common sentiment of the Church, because the Church has authority for judging of the true meaning of Holy Writ.[4]

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[1] I Tim. iii, 15. [2] Matt. xxvi, 26. [3] John xx. 23.

[4] "Quoniam vero," says the Council of the Vatican (Sess. iii, cap. 2, De Revelat.), "quæ S. Tridentina Synodus de interpretatione divinæ Scripturæ ad coercenda petulantia ingenia decrevit, a quibusdam hominibus prave exponuntur, Nos, idem decretum renovantes, hanc illius esse mentem declaramus, ut in rebus fidei et morum, ad ædificationem doctrinæ Christianæ pertinentium, is pro vero sensu Sacræ Scripturæ habendus sit, quem tenuit ac tenet Sancta Mater Ecclesia, cujus est judicare de vero sensu et interpretatione Scripturarum Sacrarum, atque ideo nemini licere contra hunc sensum . . . ipsam Scripturam Sacram interpretari." (Cfr. Concil. Trid. Sess. iv.)

Together with the obligation just referred to, and incumbent on every Catholic interpreter to abide by the decisions and the common sentiment of the Church, the Fathers of Trent and of the Vatican enacted another rule, which may be considered as the third general principle of interpretation, although it apparently does little more than point out one of the practical manners in which the foregoing rule should be carried out. According to these two Ecumenical Councils, the Catholic interpreter is strictly bound in his interpretation of the sacred text, *not to go against the unanimous consent of the Fathers of the Church* in matters which appertain to Catholic belief and practice. Evidently, whoever would not comply with the duty thus laid on him, could not be said to interpret Holy Writ in the sense admitted by the Church of God, since she has endorsed once for all the sense which has commended itself to the mind of all her great leaders in the early ages, of all her authorized exponents of true faith and pure morality. On the other hand, in framing this general rule, the Fathers of Trent and of the Vatican never intended to bind us to accept blindly the various senses which the very best commentators of past ages have proposed regarding even dogmatic or moral passages; a good proof of it is found in the fact that it is the *unanimous consent of the Fathers of the Church* that is declared to be an authority by which it shall be our duty to abide.

The last general rule of interpretation to be mentioned here, is *to take as a guide the analogy of faith*, in passages whose sense is not expressly determined either by the authority of the Church or by that of the Fathers. This rule is well set forth by DIXON[1] in the following terms: "By *analogy* in general is meant a certain likeness and agreement. By the analogy of faith is meant the agreement which subsists between all the parts of the Christian doctrine; in other words, between all the parts of the deposit of faith. . . . We must, therefore, when engaged in the interpretation of Scripture, always remember that there is a body of doctrine taught by the Church, part of which she derives from the written, and part from the unwritten, Word; and that we must take care that with this body of doctrine, no interpretation given by us to Scripture shall be ever found to clash . . . In reality, from the earliest days of the Christian Church, the liberty of the interpreter of Scripture was limited in this way. For no part of the New Testament, (and this can be easily shown in the introduction to each of the books of it), was written with the view that infidels should learn the Christian faith by reading it; but all the parts or books of it were written in order that those who had already received the faith might be more fully instructed and confirmed in the faith, and induced to regulate their lives in accordance with their faith. Such being the case, the faithful to whom these writings were first committed must have been careful not to take any meaning from them, which would be at variance with the doctrine that they had been taught already."

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[1] A General Introduction to the Holy Scriptures, vol. i, p. 198, sq. (Baltimore, 1853).

Guided, therefore, by the *analogy of faith*, the Christian interpreter will refrain from taking strictly the words of many passages, because if so taken, they would yield a meaning inconsistent with the ascertained data of Catholic doctrine. He will not, for instance, interpret as recommending suicide these words of the book of Proverbs: "Put a knife to thy throat:"[1] nor will he look upon the following passage of the Epistle to the Romans: "Whom God will, He endureth;"[2] as expressing the erroneous doctrine that the Almighty arbitrarily and by a positive act of His power hardens the heart of obdurate sinners.

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[1] Prov. xxiii, 2.

[2] Rom. ix, 18.

2. Special Rules of Interpretation Regarding the Literal and the Typical Sense. Beside the general principles of interpretation which have been thus far exposed, there are a few other rules, which though less general in their character, should be well known and distinctly kept in mind by the student who undertakes to explain any book of the Bible. Some of these refer to the *literal* sense, that is, to the sense which the sacred writer intended to convey when he used his words either in a proper or in a metaphorical acceptation. The first rule in this connection is to ascertain by every available means, such as familiarity with Hebrew and Greek, extensive use of the ancient versions, knowledge of comparative philology, reference to parallel passages, etc., the various meanings, proper or metaphorical, in which the words may have been employed by the inspired writers. Next comes the duty to determine whether the words in a given passage should be taken in their proper, or, on the contrary, in their metaphorical acceptation. For this purpose, two general rules should be borne in mind: (1) the words of Holy Writ must be taken in their proper sense, unless it be necessary to have recourse to their metaphorical meaning, and this becomes necessary only when the proper acceptation would yield a sense evidently incorrect, or manifestly opposed to the authority of tradition or to the decisions of the Church as already explained; (2) the words of Scripture can be taken in their metaphorical sense only in so far as this agrees both with the usage of the time at which the writer lived and with the laws of the language he employed. For an author writing at a given period of history, and in a special language, naturally conforms to the genius of that language and uses words or sentences in precisely the same figurative sense as the one attached to them by his contemporaries. Finally, after the interpreter has decided in which general manner—properly or metaphorically—the words in question should be taken, he must endeavor to determine which of the many precise meanings, either proper or metaphorical, has been directly and immediately intended by the writer. With a view to this, he must pay special attention to (1) the syntax and idioms of the original languages, and particularly of the Hebrew; (2) the subject-matter, that is, the topic of which the author is treating, and which oftentimes shows the sense which he attaches to a particular word or expression; (3) the context, i. e., the connection of one sentence with the preceding and with the subsequent parts of the same chapter, for it is beyond doubt that a meaning which is contrary to the context should be rejected, for it cannot be the true sense of the passage; (4) the scope or design which the author had in view, and in the unfolding of which he naturally made use of such words and phrases as were well suited to his purpose. Both the general and the special scopes, however, should be ascertained, so as to make it sure which precise meaning is best in harmony with them; (5) the historical circumstances of time, place, etc., in the midst of which the author wrote; for in writing he used the words in the sense received by his contemporaries, supposed as known to them a certain number of customs, facts, etc., and consequently alluded to them in a manner which is now intelligible only to those well acquainted with the same historical circumstances; (6) the parallel passages, i. e., such as have some degree of resemblance in style, representation, etc., inasmuch as they naturally exhibit coincidences of sentiment and expression, etc., which will enable us to catch the meaning of those that are obscure by means of those that are less so; (7) the poetical parallelism, either synonymous or antithetic, which is one of the best means to discover the genuine sense of an expression in the poetical books of the Bible;[1] (8) the renderings which have been adopted by the ancient versions or by the best commentators of Holy Writ.

The principal rules not to be lost sight of in connection with the *typical* sense are: (1) not to be preoccupied by the idea of finding everywhere a typical sense; (2) to recognize a typical sense only in passages where Holy Scripture or tradition have admitted one, or where the resemblance between the type and the antitype is true and striking; (3) not to consider the typical sense as a valid argument in matters of faith or morals, unless it be theologically certain.

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[1] For details, cfr. CHAUVIN, Leçons d'Introduction Générale, p. 508, sq.; VIGOUROUX, Manuel Biblique, vol. ii, n. 590, sqq.

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER XVII.

History of Biblical Interpretation among the Jews.

I. The Rabbinic Schools of Interpretation.

1. Their Founder: Esdras (the Early Scribes).
2. The Talmudic School and its Exegesis.
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CHAPTER XVII.

HISTORY OF BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION AMONG THE JEWS.

§ 1. *The Rabbinic Schools of Interpretation.*

1. Esdras and the Early Scribes. The history of early Biblical Interpretation among the Jews is shrouded in no less obscurity than the gradual formation of their sacred literature itself. Long before the time of Esdras (fifth cent. B. C.), there existed in Israel men who, side by side with the prophets, were considered as the authorized exponents of the will of Yahweh, and whose business it was to interpret the national laws and to apply them to individual cases. In point of fact, several of the sacred writings composed before the Babylonian exile speak of priests and laymen as intrusted with the interpretation and application of the theocratic laws,[1] but they nowhere give details concerning the precise method that was followed in the explanation of the sacred text.

In the absence of such details, and in view of the fact that Esdras is called in Holy Writ "the Scribe," "a ready scribe in the law," who "had prepared his heart to see the law of Yahweh and to do and to teach in Israel the commandments and judgments," and who is spoken of by the Persian king, Artaxerxes, as "the most learned scribe of the law of the God of heaven,"[2] it is not surprising to find that Jewish tradition has ever looked upon Esdras as the founder of the rabbinical schools of interpretation. Most justly indeed is he still considered as such, both by Jewish and by Christian scholars, inasmuch as his aim to make his fellow-Jews comply perfectly with all the regulations of the law became the one aim of the scribes and rabbis who came after him. Far from being satisfied with simply interpreting into Aramaic the passages of the *Torah*, which had just been read in Hebrew in the public services of the synagogues, the early scribes entered into developments whose object was to show how the Mosaic precepts could apply to every minute detail of life. "The wisdom of the scribes," says, rightly, W. R. Smith,[1] "consisted of two parts, which in Jewish terminology were respectively called Halacha and Haggada. Halacha was legal teaching, systematized legal precept, while Haggada was doctrinal and practical admonition, mingled with parable and legend. But of these two parts, the Halacha,—that is, the system of rules applying the Pentateuchal law to every case of practice and every detail of life,—was always the chief thing."

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[1] Cfr. Deuter. xvi, 18-20; xvii, 8-12; Micheas iii, 9-11; Sophon. iii, 3.

[2] Esdras vii, 6, 10-12.

It was an arduous task for the early scribes to evolve from the written law of Moses, Halachic rules that would apply to all the cases of the private, domestic, and public life of Israel. More difficult still was it to show that the *unwritten* or *oral* law, whose full authority they proclaimed, and which consisted partly of old religious and national customs and usages, partly of decrees and ordinances more or less recently enacted, to meet the ever-varying exigencies of time and place, was founded on or even harmonized with the Pentateuchal law. Hence it was only natural that, at times, the scribes should strain the text before them, in their attempts to provide an established law or custom with a biblical support.[2] It was only natural, too, that the primitive Halacha and Haggada methods of interpretation should be gradually modified; and in point of fact, the *Peshat*, or the plain interpretation of a scriptural law or passage in its immediate literal sense, grew out of the Halacha ; while the *Derash*, or more or less artificial explanation of a passage in a mystical or allegorical sense, may be considered as a species of the Haggada.

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[1] The Old Testament in the Jewish Church, Lect. iii, p. 44, sq. (2d Edition, 1892).

[2] Cfr. MIELZINER, Introduction to the Talmud, p. 120, sq.

The most eminent among the early scribes were Antigonus of Socho, a disciple of Simon the Just (fourth century B.C.) ; Joseph ben Johanan, who belonged to the epoch of the Machabean wars of Independence ; Nathan of Arbela, who lived under John Hyrcanus ; Abtalion, a contemporary of Hyrcanus II ; Hillel and Shammai, contemporaries of Herod the Great. It is to Hillel († 10 A.D.), that Jewish tradition ascribes the first framing of the rules to be observed in the interpretation of the law. He reduced them to seven principles which have been called a kind of "rabbinical logic ;" but they were enlarged later on to thirteen, by Rabbi Ismael (2d cent. A. D.).[1]

2. The Talmudic School and its Exegesis. The system of hermeneutics originated by the ancient scribes was naturally kept up and developed by the Jewish teachers who came immediately after them, and who mostly belonged to the sect of the Pharisees. Like the Pharisees, these new teachers looked upon the law embodied in the Pentateuch as the rule of life of Israel, on the condition, however, that this written law should be commented upon and explained by means of the unwritten law or "tradition of the ancients."[2] In reality, they very often explained away the most obvious meaning of the sacred text through their subtle casuistry, "making void," as Our Lord declares, "the commandment of God for their tradition."[3]

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[1] These rules are well stated and illustrated in MIELZINER, loc. cit., p. 123, sqq. Cfr. also SCHÜRER, The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ, where the question of *Scribism* is fully treated (Second Division, vol. i, p. 305, sqq., Engl. Transl.).

[2] Matt. xv, 2.

[3] Matt. xv, 6, see also verse 3.

As time went on, and as these legal interpretations, more or less foreign to the true sense of the Mosaic law, greatly multiplied, especially with a view to adapt the life of the Jews to the strange conditions which were entailed by the ruin of Jerusalem and its Temple, a really independent law was formed, although it continued to claim the Pentateuch as its basis.[1] Those who contributed most towards its formation were Rabbi Aqiba, who codified the oral law; Rabbi Ismael, who placed it on a logical basis; Rabbi Eliezer, who amplified it exegetically; and Rabbi Juda Hanasi, called simply *Rabbi* by way of eminence, who is said to have completed the Mishnah compilation, and to have made it the authoritative code of the traditional law, to the exclusion of all similar compilations by former teachers.[2] The principles of the Halacha and of the Haggada methods which they followed in their work are admirably summed up in the following passage of Vogué:[3] "Their forty-five rules may all be reduced to two fundamental considerations: (1) Nothing is fortuitous, arbitrary or indifferent in the Word of God. Pleonasm, ellipsis, grammatical anomaly, transposition of words or facts, everything is calculated, everything has its end, and would teach us something. . . . (2) As the image of its author, who is one by Himself and manifold in His manifestations, the Bible conceals in a single word a crowd of thoughts; many a phrase, which appears to express a simple and single idea, is susceptible of diverse senses and numberless interpretations independent of the fundamental difference between literal exegesis and free exegesis; in short, as the Talmud says, after the Bible itself, the divine word is like fire which divides itself into a thousand sparks, or a rock which breaks into numberless fragments under the hammer that attacks it. These two points of view, I repeat, are the soul of the Midrash [1] in general: the latter above all serves as the common basis of the Halacha and the Haggada, and it explains, better than any other theory, the long domination of the Midrash exegesis in the synagogue."

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[1] Cfr. Theodore REINACH, Histoire des Israélites, p. 13, sqq.

[2] For details, see FARRAR, History of Interpretation, p. 68, sqq.

[3] L. VOGUÉ, Histoire de la Bible et de l'Exégèse Biblique jusqu'à nos jours, p. 169 (Paris, 1881).

It is under the influence of these general principles, that the text of the Talmud or Mishnah was first written down and next commented upon in the rabbinical schools of the East and of the West. It is under the same influence that the leading commentaries, or Midrashim, on most books of the Hebrew Bible, were composed during the first five centuries of our era.[2]

3. Schools of the Karaites and the Kabalists. We should not suppose, however, that the founders and expounders of the Talmud, who were the worthy successors of the Pharisees in their interpretation of Holy Writ, were without vigorous opponents of their methods. All along, as a matter of fact, they found such adversaries in the *Karaites*, men who, like the Sadducees of old, rejected all oral traditions, and who maintained, like the Protestants at a later date, that the Sacred Scriptures were plain in themselves, and should be understood by each believer, independently of human additions. Setting aside the arbitrary and fanciful traditions of the Talmud, they were chiefly concerned with the text itself; and in this way they truly promoted the grammatical and linguistic study of Holy Writ, especially toward the middle of the seventh century, when they began to exercise a wide and deeply felt influence. After the eleventh century, their method gradually ceased to count as an important element in Jewish exegesis, and at the present day they are but small local communities in Lithuania and Crimea.[1]

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[1] The word "*Midrash*" means "*research*," artificial interpretation.

[2] The names of the principal Midrashim are given by VIGOUROUX, Manuel Biblique, vol. i, n. 201.

A very different attitude towards the Old Testament was assumed by the *Kabalists*, the Jewish theosophists of the Middle Ages. Far from looking upon the sacred text as fully intelligible to every one, they contended that every letter of the Bible contained a secret sense for the initiated in the mysteries of the *Kabala*, or tradition come down from God through Adam and Abraham. Thus did they count for little the literal *sense*, while they attached the greatest importance to the *letters* and *words* of Holy Writ, which they submitted to the most arbitrary combinations to make them yield their so-called hidden sense. One of their means to pursue such fanciful interpretation, was the *Notarikon*[2] or the process of reconstructing a word by using the initials of many, or a sentence by using all the letters of a single word as so many initials of other words. The famous symbol *ἰχθὺς* standing for *Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ*, is an instance of a word thus interpreted by the early Christians. No less puerile were the other two Kabalistic methods of interpretation, the *Ghematria* and the *Temura*. The former, whose name is a corrupted form of the Greek word Geometria, consisted in the use of the numerical values of the letters of a word for purposes of comparison with other words which give the same or similar combinations of numbers. Thus in Gen. xlix, 10 "Shiloh come," is equivalent to 358, which is also the numerical value of Mashiah (משיח): hence it is inferred that Shiloh is identical with the Messias. The latter method of interpretation, the *Temura* or "change," is the art of discovering the supposed hidden sense of the text by an interchange of letters. For instance, in Exodus xxiii, 23 "my angel" (מַלְאָכִי) is transposed into Michael: whence it is inferred that the angel of Jehovah spoken of in the passage is the archangel Michael. "The commonest application of Temurah consists, however, in substituting for each letter in a word the letter which stands in an equivalent order in the other half of the alphabet. . . . The chief interest of the method lies in the fact that there seem to be instances of it in the Bible" (Cfr. Jerem. xxv, 26; li, 2).[1]

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[1] Cfr. art. CARAITE, by E. LÉVESQUE, in Vigouroux, Dictionnaire de la Bible; see also REINACH, loc. cit., p. 55, sqq.; BRIGGS, Introd. to the Study of Holy Scripture, p. 433.

[2] The name is borrowed from *Notarius* "a shorthand writer," because such writers used letters to stand for words.

It goes without saying that such artificial methods of interpretation, however ancient, could hardly ever yield valuable results in exegesis, although some Christian scholars of the end of the fifteenth century showed themselves very eager to become acquainted with Kabalistic methods and writings. "The most famous Kabalists are Moses ben Nachman, author of *Faith and Hope*; Joseph of Castile, author of *Gates of Light*; Moses of Cordova, author of the *Garden of Pomegranates*; Isaac Luria, author of the *Book of Metempsychosis*; and Chajim Vital, who wrote the *Tree of Life*."[2] But even the best work of these Kabalists will ever be more useful to Jewish scholars than to Christian interpreters.

Much more valuable for Catholic commentators of Holy Writ are the works of the Karaites, Jacob ben Ruben (twelfth century), Aaron ben Joseph († 1294), and Aaron ben Elias (fourteenth century), for their method of exposition is much more scientific. The same thing must also be said of the leading Talmudic commentators of the Middle Ages, among whom may be mentioned Rabbi Saadia Gaon († 942), "the pioneer of careful exegetical writers," as he has been called; Jarchi (Rashi) († 1105), the founder of the French school of Talmudic interpretation; ben Ezra († 1168), so remarkable for his "literal and painstaking exegesis"; Moses Maimonides († 1208), who, as we are told, "sought to establish the right of free examination as against the absolute principle of authority"; [1] and, lastly, David Kimchi († 1240), who rendered great services to Hebrew philology and to the grammatico-historical interpretation of Holy Writ.

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[1] FARRAR, History of Interpretation, p. 103. Cfr. VIGOUROUX, Dictionnaire de la Bible, art. Athbasch, p. 1210, sq.

[2] Ed. REUSS, in Schaff-Herzog, Encyclopædia of Religious Knowledge, art. Cabala.

4. **Modern Rabbinical Schools.** Treading in the footsteps of such good exegetical writers, the Talmudic scholars of the fifteenth and following centuries developed into what has been called the Rabbinic *Theological* school of interpretation. This name has been given to a series of rabbis remarkable for "their progressiveness, happily blended with prudence and moderation, for their genuine piety, for their exegesis, equally foreign to the unbridled license of free thought and to the arbitrary and puerile methods of false mysticism." [2] Endowed with this truly *theological* temper, they studied the sacred text in the light of grammar and philology, and carefully examined the context and parallel passages. As the outcome of their laborious efforts, biblical exegesis among the Jews became more and more sober, literal and accurate.

Among the best interpreters of this school may be mentioned: (1) Abrabanel (1437–1508), who made use of Christian writings, rejected Kabalism, employed good grammatical methods, and brought his wide experience as a traveller to bear on the interpretation of the historical books; (2) Elias Levita (1471–1549), who wrote grammatical treatises greatly valued by Richard Simon, and who has been much praised by Gesenius; (3) Azarias de Rossi (1514–1577), who "compared the various Talmudic writings with those of contemporary pagan authors, and who shared with Richard Simon the honor of being the precursor of the recent school of Biblical Criticism."[1]

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[1] FARRAR, loc. cit., p. 463. Cfr. also KEIL, Introduction to the Old Testament, vol. ii, p. 383, sq. (Engl. Transl.).

[2] VOGUÉ, Histoire de la Bible et de l'Exégèse Biblique, p. 282, sq.

Less sound, indeed, but far more brilliant than the Theological, was the *Critical* school, started in the eighteenth century by Moses Mendelssohn (1729–1786), whom the Jews still call "the third Moses."[2] As a powerful thinker and an elegant writer, he acquired in Germany, his native country, a prestige of which he availed himself skilfully for raising the social and intellectual level of his fellow-religionists. His commentaries on Ecclesiastes, and on the Rabbinic treatise, *Miloth Higayon* (logical terminology), in which he reacted powerfully against the antiquated methods of the Talmudic schools, exercised a deep influence upon the minds of the young Jewish students. Far greater still was the influence of his critical method and religious views upon the readers of his German translation of the Pentateuch, which was accompanied by the grammatical notes of such congenial co-workers as Dudno and Hartwig Wessely. In vain did the heads of the old Jewish orthodoxy oppose him; he completed his work on the Pentateuch, and even added to it a German commentary on the Psalms and on the Canticle of Canticles. Had Mendelssohn been less careful to connect his own work with that of the Massoretes of old, there is little doubt that, despite all his literary ability, the Jewish rabbis of Germany would not have undergone his influence to anything like the extent to which they did. In point of fact, the German rabbis, together with their flocks, became better acquainted with the German style and thought of their century through these translations of the greatest living representative of the Jewish race. They learned little by little one of the lessons oftenest inculcated by Mendelssohn, viz., that, "the law is not identical with religion, and that it simply requires outward observances calculated to preserve religious ideas, without interfering with the progressive development of such ideas."[1]

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[1] REINACH, loc. cit., p. 217, sq.

[2] Cfr. F. LICHTENBERGER, Encyclopédie des Sciences Religieuses, vol. xii, pp. 656–658.

Mendelssohn's interpretation of Holy Writ "is grammatical, close, learned. His criticism is moderate, acute, conscientious."[2] It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that, with his literary talent and social influence, he succeeded in founding a school, which, however short-lived, was brilliant, and impressed deeply Jewish thought. His principal disciples were, beside Hartwig Wessely, already mentioned, Isaac Euchel, David Friedlænder, Marcus Herz, Wolffsohn, etc.

A few additional words will suffice in connection with the contemporary rabbinical school of interpretation, which, because it is even more advanced than that of Mendelssohn, we may venture to call by the name of *liberal*. Its representatives, such men as Munk, Luzzato, Zunz, Geiger, Fürst, etc., are all leading scholars, who willingly enough avail themselves of the great biblical works published by Christians, and whose exegetical publications, bearing the stamp of true scholarship, deserve to be utilized by Catholic commentators. The method applied by this school to the interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures is critical, grammatical, and historical.

Side by side with this great school of Jewish thought and criticism, and in opposition to it, the old Talmudic schools still live with their antiquated methods.

§ 2. *The Hellenistic School of Interpretation.*

1. Origin and Object of Hellenistic Interpretation. It will be noticed that in the brief historical sketch of the schools of interpretation among the Jews which has been given, no mention was made of the very important Jewish school of exegesis, which is commonly designated under the name of the *Hellenistic* school. This was done with a view not to interrupt the description of the various stages through which Biblical Interpretation passed in the leading rabbinical schools, all more or less intimately connected with Esdras and the early scribes. Again, as the Hellenistic school and its hermeneutical methods have had confessedly a direct and considerable bearing upon the early Christian schools of interpretation, it seemed advisable to treat of that great school immediately before studying the history of exegesis in the Christian Church.

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[1] E. Scherdin, art. Judaisme Moderne, in Lichtenberg's Encyclopédie, vol. xii, p. 659.

[2] Chauvin, loc. cit., p. 563.

As its name indicates, the Hellenistic school of Biblical Interpretation took its origin among the Jews of the Western or Greek Dispersion. The Hellenists, or Greek-speaking Jews, having come, and living, in contact with Hellenic thought and religion, were gradually led, for apologetical purposes, to prove that the exalted moral and religious views of the Greek philosophers, and particularly of Plato, were ultimately traceable to the divine Revelation contained in the sacred books of the Jews.[1] All the wisdom of the Greeks, it was contended, had been borrowed, in a distant past, from the books of Moses rendered into Greek long before the work of the Septuagint;[2] and in consequence it was assumed that it could be shown how all the best sayings of the pagan philosophers had been taken from the writings of the Jewish lawgiver. This was just as easy an assumption as the one made by the early Jewish scribes of whom we spoke above, as claiming for the whole *oral* law a Mosaic support. On the other hand, the proof of the former was just as hard as that of the latter assumption; and, in point of fact, while the early Palestinian scribes were compelled to have recourse to strained constructions of the Hebrew Bible to substantiate their position, the Hellenistic apologists were, in like manner, led to put upon the Greek Septuagint Text meanings of their own, through what has been called the *allegorical* method of interpretation.

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[1] Cfr. VIGOUROUX, Dictionnaire de la Bible, art. Alexandrie (Ecole d'), p. 359.

[2] We refer to the fiction of Aristobulus, which asserted the existence of a previous and much older translation of the law (Cfr. VIGOUROUX, ibid., p. 360; FARRAR, History of Interpretation, p. 129, sq.).

2. The Allegorical School of Alexandria: Philo. The possibility of extracting Greek philosophy from the Pentateuch was maintained, apparently for the first time, by the philosopher Aristobulus, a Jewish writer who lived in Alexandria under Ptolemy VI (Philometor) (181–146 B.C.). As those scholars who after him made up the school of Alexandria, he maintained his position "partly by the modification of anthropomorphic expressions, partly by reading new conceptions between the lines of the ancient documents." In answer to a question of Ptolemy, Aristobulus told him that Scripture was not to be literally understood. The "hand" of God means His might; the "speech" of God implies only an influence on the soul of man. The "standing" of God means the organization and immovable stability of the world. The "coming down" of God has nothing to do with time or space. The "fire" and the "trumpet" of Sinai are pure metaphors corresponding to nothing external. The six days' creation merely implies continuous development. The seventh day indicates the cycle of hebdomads which prevails among all living things—whatever that piece of Pythagorean mysticism may chance to mean. Aristobulus, however, confined allegory within reasonable limits, and, as Dean Stanley has said, if he be held responsible for the extravagances of Philo . . . he may also claim the glory of having led the way in the path trodden by all who have striven to discriminate between the eternal truths of Scripture and the framework, the imaginative vesture, in which those truths are set forth.

"Here, then, we trace to its source one of the tiny rills of exegesis, which afterwards swelled the mighty stream of Philonian and Christian allegory."[1]

It is highly probable that between Aristobulus and Philo there lived several Jewish writers who adopted the allegorical method which has just been described.[2] Nevertheless, the man whose name has become most intimately connected with the allegorical Jewish school of Alexandria is unquestionably Philo, a contemporary of Our Lord (he died about 50 A.D.) He it was who formulated the rules of allegorical interpretation. He it was, also, who applied them with consistency in his various writings. He it was, finally, whose influence is especially recognizable upon the allegorical writers of the Christian school of Alexandria of whom it will be soon question.

According to him, "there are three rules to determine when the literal sense is excluded: (1) when anything is said unworthy of God; (2) when it presents an insoluble difficulty; (3) when the expression is allegorical."[3]

To these general principles Philo added twenty-three rules of the allegorical method, which Dr. Briggs[4] arranges happily under the four heads of (1), *Grammatical Allegory*; (2) *Rhetorical Allegory*; (3) *Allegory by means of new combinations* (a method fully wrought out by the Kabalists at a later date); (4) *Symbolism*, which is of three kinds: of numbers, of things, and of names.

One is truly surprised when he realizes the extent to which this Alexandrian philosopher, who held the most rigid views of inspiration, did not hesitate to carry his allegorical method of interpretation. Men, things, historical facts, legal enactments, most important events, minute details, all things, in a word, may be taken as allegorical, as symbolizing now one thing and now another altogether different. Thus, the four rivers in the earthly Paradise are, according to him, the four cardinal virtues; the five cities of the Plain are the five senses. In the simple and straightforward passage about the land of promise, "cities" he takes to mean "general virtues;" "houses," "special virtues;" "wells," "noble dispositions towards wisdom;" "vineyards and olive-trees" imply "cheerfulness and light," the fruits of a contemplative life. Again, Moses is intelligence; Aaron is speech; Enoch is repentance; Noe, righteousness; Abraham is virtue acquired by learning; Isaac is innate virtue; Lot is sensuality; Ismael is sophistry, etc., etc. As an example of the manifold meaning in which Philo takes the same object, we may give here, "the sun" which in one case is the understanding; in another, the bodily sense; in another again, the Word of God; and in another, finally, God Himself. "In general, it may be said that he admits the truth of the primeval Mosaic history, from the creation down to Abraham, only in its principal features, while he takes almost all the details to be purely allegorical. Thus, in the account of the creation of the world, only the creative act is with him historic truth, not the details; Adam is taken by him to be the first man; but the details of his history, such as the account of the trees in Paradise, of the serpent, of the expulsion, are mere symbols of things connected with the higher life. . . ."[1]

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[1] FARRAR, loc. cit., p. 130, sq.

[2] VIGOUROUX, loc. cit., p. 360.

[3] BRIGGS, Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture, p. 434, sq.

[4] Ibid., p. 435.

And yet, strange to say, the hidden sense attained only by allegory is for Philo and his school the real sense intended by God. It is the sense designed indeed not for the uncultivated who are incapable of apprehending the divine wisdom, but for those who have raised themselves to a pure spiritual view of the Deity. The allegorical method of interpretation was in particular favor with the Essenes, and is supposed by some scholars to "have left its traces in the pseudepigraphs and apocryphal books that were composed in the time of Philo."[1]

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[1] GFRÖRER, Philo, quoted in *Keil*, Introd. to the O. T. vol. ii, p. 389 (Engl. Transl.).

§ 3. *The Jewish Interpretation and the Writings of the New Testament.*

1. Importance and Difficulty of a Comparison between them. When it is borne in mind that the writings of the New Testament contain numerous quotations from the Old Testament; that they frequently represent what is said of events, persons, doctrines, etc., of the former Covenant as applicable in various ways to those of the Gospel dispensation; that it seems antecedently probable that the Old Testament should be quoted in the New according to the Jewish methods of the time; finally, that the manner in which the writings of the New Testament interpret the sacred books of the Old Law, must needs, and in point of fact, did, very considerably influence the Biblical Interpretation in subsequent ages, it is easy to understand something of the importance which attaches naturally to a comparison between the Jewish methods of Interpretation and those which may be discovered in the writings of the New Testament. This importance is further enhanced by the fact that for some time past, the question to determine the nature and principles of the New Testament interpretation as compared with the rabbinical and Hellenistic methods, has much engaged the attention of prominent biblical scholars, and has received from them different solutions.

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[1] Brigg, ibid., p. 435.

It is true that these scholars would have probably reached, by this time, something like a fair agreement on this point, if they had all examined the question from a non-partisan point of view. It cannot be denied, however, that, apart from the bias unquestionably exhibited by many of them, the question in itself is a difficult one. In fact, owing to the practical impossibility—which has already been alluded to—of drawing a sharp distinction between the typical and the accommodative sense of some scriptural passages, it is highly probable that the precise relation between the rabbinical and Hellenistic methods of interpretation on the one hand, and those which may be noticed in the New Testament writings on the other hand, will never be defined to the satisfaction of all parties concerned. Here we can hardly do more than to direct the attention of the student to this important question, and to state briefly what may be considered as sure, or at least as fairly probable, positions in connection with it.

2. How far were the Jewish Methods of Interpretation adopted by Our Lord? Whoever will examine closely the manner in which Our Lord is reported in the Gospels as quoting the Scriptures of the Old Testament, will be led to the following conclusions regarding the extent to which He adopted the Jewish methods of interpretation prevalent in His time. Like His contemporaries, Jesus shows Himself acquainted with the *literal* interpretation of the sacred text; as, for instance, when He answers the Tempter by quoting the words of the law: "Not on bread alone doth man live, but on every word that comes from the mouth of God;" "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God," and "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve."[1] On the other hand, He is perfectly acquainted with the legal or Halacha method of interpretation so prevalent among the Pharisees and scribes of His time, and He usually defeats these rabbinical opponents of His with their own weapons. Thus, His line of argument in St. John x, 34–36 is an application of Hillel's first rule of interpretation, viz.: the inference from the greater to the less.[1] Again, in His discussion concerning the Sabbath law, as reported by St. Matthew (xii, 4–8), He seems to apply another rabbinical principle of the time (the sixth rule of Hillel), in virtue of which scriptural passages could be used to supplement one another. But while Jesus thus employs the Halacha method as best suited in controversy with His rabbinical adversaries, His favorite method of teaching the people is essentially the Haggada, or homiletical interpretation, which admits of parabolic and familiar exposition. Our Lord's use of parables to illustrate or suggest moral or religious truths is too well-known to require more than a passing mention here, though it is the most convincing proof of the fact that He freely adopted the Haggadic method of exposition in use among the Palestinian rabbis of His time. To this general proof we shall add but one particular instance, because of the vivid contrast it sets forth between the Halachic and Haggadic methods. In St. Luke xiii, 14, sqq., we read of the ruler of a synagogue as very angry at a miracle of healing which Jesus had performed on the Sabbath day in behalf of an infirm woman, and as promulgating the dry Halachic rule: "Six days there are wherein you ought to work. In them, therefore, come and be healed, and not on the Sabbath day." To this bald pronouncement, Jesus returned the following Haggadic reply: "Ye hypocrites, doth not every one of you, on the Sabbath day, loose his ox or his ass from the manger, and lead them to water?

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[1] Matt. iv, 4, 7, 10.

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[1] The seven rules of rabbinical interpretation formulated by Hillel have already been referred to. They are given in MIELZINER, Introduction to the Talmud, p. 123, sq.

And ought not this daughter of Abraham, whom Satan hath bound, lo, these eighteen years, be loosed from this bond on the Sabbath day?"

Is it possible to go further and to admit with some contemporary scholars, that Our Lord, besides adopting the general methods of the Palestinian rabbis, came into connection with the *allegorical* method of the Alexandrian Jews, and argued from the text with something of Hellenistic freedom? In answer to this question it may be said that, at times, Jesus seems almost to use the methods of the Hellenists; as, for instance, when He applies to Himself, in what some take to be an accommodative sense, the prophecy of Isaias lxi, 1, sq.;[1] Ps. viii, 3;[2] and possibly Ps. cxvii, 22–23.[3] Even in these passages, however, it remains possible to admit that, instead of the accommodative sense, Our Lord simply applied to Himself the higher typical sense ever intended by the Holy Spirit, as He does unquestionably in other places. But be this as it may, it is beyond question that "He never employed any of the strange combinations and fanciful reconstructions of the *Sodh* (supposed *mystical* sense) of the Alexandrians, any more than the casuistry or hair-splitting Halacha of the scribes, or the idle tales and absurd legends of the Haggada."[4]

A last and most important point to be noticed in connection with Our Saviour's method of interpreting Holy Writ, regards some features which are peculiarly His own. Differently from all His contemporaries, He delivered doctrines on His own authority for settling questions; as for example, when answering the Sadducees who had argued the impossibility of the resurrection, on the basis of a Mosaic statement, He said: "When they arise from the dead, they shall neither marry nor be married; but shall be as the angels of God in heaven."[1] He even went farther, and contrasted His own interpretation of the fundamental laws of the Decalogue with the traditional interpretation: "You have heard that it was said to them of old, thou shalt not kill. And whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgment. But I say to you. . . ." In thus acting, "Jesus interpreted divine laws from the point of view of the divine Lawgiver Himself. No human interpreter would be justified in following the Master thither. It is His sovereign prerogative so to interpret. . . . The rabbis interpreted the Scriptures to accord with the traditions of the elders; Jesus interpreted them to accord with the mind of God, their author. Hence, the characteristic authority with which He spoke; the freedom with which He added to the ancient Scriptures, and substituted a higher revelation for the lower, wherever it was found necessary."[2]

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[1] Cfr. Luke iv, 16–22.

[2] Matt. xxi, 16. (Cfr. MALDONATUS, in loc.)

[3] Matt. xxi, 42–44.

[4] BRIGGS, Introd. to the Study of Holy Scriptures, p. 441.

3. Exegetical Methods of the New Testament Writers. The foregoing remarks in regard to Our Lord's methods of Biblical Interpretation, will dispense us with giving many details concerning the exegetical methods of the New Testament writers. Antecedently speaking, these writers would naturally use the text of the Old Testament in about the same manner as their Jewish or Hellenistic contemporaries, in order to draw therefrom arguments that might be considered as valid in the eyes of the Palestinian or Hellenistic Jews. It is likewise antecedently probable that as true disciples of the one Master, Christ, the New Testament writers would adopt the same exegetical methods as He had Himself used during His mortal life. We are not therefore, surprised to find that, as a matter of fact, they all show themselves inclined to employ one or other of the methods of interpretation in vogue among their contemporaries, and are all clearly influenced by the methods of the One who "had opened the understanding of His disciples, that they might understand the Scriptures."[1]

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[1] Matt. xxii, 30.

[2] Briggs, ibid., pp. 440, 442.

The following scheme contains references to the principal passages of the New Testament where the inspired writers have been considered to incline towards the *Haggada*, the *Halacha* and the *Allegory* methods of interpretation, respectively:

Haggada:	Halacha:	Allegory:
Matt. iii, 13–18.[2]	Rom. iv, 3.	Galat. iv, 24, sq.
James ii, 21, sq.; v, 11–17.	I Cor. ix, 9.	I Cor. x, 4.
Rom. x, 15.[3]	II Cor. iii, 7.[4]	Heb. vii.
Heb. xi.	Jas. ii, 8–13.	Apoc. xiii, 18 ; xii, 1, sq ; xvi, 12 ; xvi, 16, etc.

As regards the manner in which the New Testament writers were influenced by the peculiar exegetical methods of their Master, the following words of Dr. Briggs deserve to be quoted: "The Apostles were taught by Jesus to consider the old Covenant as a whole;[5] to see it as a shadow, type and preparatory dispensation with reference to the new Covenant; to regard the substance and disregard the form. Hence, under the further guidance of the Holy Spirit they eliminated the temporal, local, and circumstantial forms of the old Covenant and gained the universal, eternal, and essential substance, and this they applied to the circumstances of the new Covenant of which they were called to be the expounders. They interpreted in accordance with the mind of the reigning Christ, as Jesus had interpreted in accordance with the mind of His Father. . . . This organic method of interpretation of Jesus and His Apostles is the true Christian method."[6]

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[1] Luke xxiv, 45.

[2] Cfr. Maldonatus, in loc.

[3] Cfr. Van Steenkiste, in Sti. Pauli Epistolas, vol. i, p. 162.

[4] Cfr. Van Steenkiste, ibid., p. 302.

[5] Cfr. Luke xxiv, 25, 44.

[6] Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture, p. 446, sq.

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER XVIII.

History of Biblical Interpretation in the Christian Church.

Section I. Before the Protestant Reformation.

I. The First Three Centuries:
- 1. The Apostolic Fathers (Aim and Methods of Interpretation).
- 2. The Early Apologists (St. Justin and St. Irenæus).
- 3. The School of Alexandria:
  - Its Origin.
  - The Allegorism of Clement and Origen.

II. From the Fourth to the Sixth Century:
- 1. The Eastern Schools of
  - Antioch (Principal Characteristics and Leading Scholars).
  - Edessa (Aphraates and St. Ephrem).
  - Cæsarea (the Cappadocian Fathers).
- 2. The Latin Fathers: (St. Hilary; St. Ambrose; St. Jerome; St. Augustine).

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- 1. Before the Scholastic Period (the Compilers of the "Catenæ," and the leading Interpreters).
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CHAPTER XVIII.

HISTORY OF BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

Section I. Before the Protestant Reformation.

§ 1. *The First Three Centuries.*

1. The Apostolic Fathers. As might naturally be expected, the early Fathers of the Church trod, in several ways, in the footsteps of the first preachers of Christianity as regards their treatment of Holy Writ. Like the Apostles and the New Testament writers, they did not aim at anything like a continuous or systematic exposition of the Holy Scriptures, and only occasionally did they quote the sacred text in their epistles or other extant works. Again, from their few quotations from, or allusions to, Holy Writ, we may infer that, like their predecessors, the Apostolic Fathers adopted the manner of understanding the Sacred Scriptures that was prevalent in their time, and among those to whom they wrote.

Thus as St. Clement of Rome destined his letter to the faithful of Corinth, who were mostly Hellenistic converts, he naturally used, beside the literal sense of Holy Writ, what seems to be the *allegorical* method of exposition. A clear proof of this is found in the twelfth chapter, where St. Clement endows Rahab with the spirit of prophecy, because by the scarlet cord hung out of her window, she signified that redemption should flow by the blood of Christ to all who believe and hope in God. Much more frequent and striking is the use of the same method of interpretation in the epistle ascribed to St. Barnabas. The one purpose of the writer is to find throughout the Old Testament something which, in some way or other, he may refer to Christ or to Christianity; and, accordingly, he interprets in the strangest manner, in a thoroughly Philonian fashion, the most natural details of Jewish history.[1] For example, after quoting Leviticus xx, 24, in which God promises to the Hebrews the possession of a land flowing with milk and honey, he says: "Now learn what is the spiritual meaning of this. It is as if it had been said, put your trust in Jesus, who shall be manifested to you in the flesh. For man is the earth which suffers; inasmuch as out of the substance of the earth Adam was formed." Again, in the eighth chapter of the epistle of Barnabas we find a fanciful interpretation of the sacrifice of the buck-goat described in Leviticus (chap. xvi). In like manner, the entire ninth chapter of the epistle is devoted to something like a Kabalistic explanation of circumcision. According to the writer, Abraham, who was the first to bring in circumcision, circumcised 318 men of his house, because this number in Greek letters (*I*=10; *H*=8; *T*=300, i.e., 318), signifies Jesus (*IH* being the first two letters of the word *Iησοῦς*) and the figure of His cross (i.e., *T*). Such, he adds, is the mystery of three letters received by Abraham; and this circumcision pointed to the death of Jesus as its object. "No one," says he again, "ever learned from me a more genuine truth; but I know that you are worthy of it."[2]

2. The Early Apologists. This manifest influence of Philo's method of Biblical Interpretation upon one of the earliest Christian interpreters of Holy Writ, is also unmistakable in connection with the first Christian apologist, St. Justin. Starting from a ground common to him and to his opponents, viz., that the Old Testament writers spoke in mysteries, types and symbols, this illustrious Father of the Church arrives sometimes at strange explanations of the sacred text through his application of the allegorical method. This happens both in his *Second Apology* and his *Dialogue with Trypho.* In fact, in this latter work, as St. Justin is constantly giving strained meanings to the scriptural passages he appeals to (as for example, when he states that the wrestling of Jacob with the angel denotes the temptation of Jesus;[1] his double marriage with Lia and Rachel, the revelation of God in the Jewish and Christian Church,[2] and the miracle of Eliseus wrought by causing the iron to swim, deliverance from the burden of sin by baptism,[3] etc., etc.), his Jewish adversary cannot help complaining that while God's words are sacred, Justin's exegesis of them is purely artificial.[4] Evidently, on these and other such occasions, the Christian apologist was carried too far, both by his desire to see references to Our Lord in the Scriptures of the old Covenant,[5] and by his great admiration for Philo and his exegetical methods. It remains true, however, that his works display usually a wonderful insight into the deeper meaning of the Old Testament prophecies, and that from this point of view he shows himself a worthy disciple of the earliest preachers of Christianity.

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[1] Cfr. VIGOUROUX, Manuel Biblique, vol. i, n. 204.

[2] Cfr. DAVIDSON, On Sacred Hermeneutics, p. 72; FARRAR, History of Interpretation, p. 167, sqq.

Happily for Christian apologetics and hermeneutics, principles of interpretation sounder than those of St. Justin, because less under the influence of Alexandrian allegorism, were set forth by the holy Bishop of Lyons, St. Irenæus. In his arguments against the Gnostics, who had developed allegorism on heretical lines, this champion of orthodoxy took a firm hold of the great Catholic rule, which had been formerly promulgated by St. Paul in his Second Epistle to the Thessalonians,[1] and which will ever remain the sure test and guide of Biblical Interpretation in the Church of God. According to him, the "*rule of truth*,"[2] or doctrinal tradition handed down in the churches founded by the Apostles, and more particularly "the tradition of the greatest and most ancient Church, known to all, founded and established by two most glorious Apostles, Peter and Paul, at Rome . . . with which Church, on account of its pre-eminence, it is necessary that every church should agree,"[3] is the great principle of Christian interpretation.

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[1] Dial. with Trypho, chap. cxxv.

[2] Ibid., chap. cxl.

[3] Ibid., chap. lxxxvi.

[4] Ibid., chap. lxxix.

[5] Cfr. J. A. Mœhler, La Patrologie, vol. i, p. 241, sq. (French Transl.).

There is, assuredly, a wide difference between realizing clearly and stating forcibly a rule, and applying it constantly; so that we are not surprised to find that, though he had so perfectly understood and promulgated *the* great law of Biblical Interpretation, St. Irenæus deviated from it at times in practice. He has apparently recourse to *allegorism* when he argues that there can be only four Gospels because there are only four quarters of the world, four winds, and four cherubic forms.[4] "He blames the Gnostics for drawing arguments from numbers, letters, and syllables; yet even in a matter so important as an explanation of the name, Jesus, he adopts the Rabbinic method of *Notarikon*. He says that, in Hebrew, the word consists of two and a half letters and implies that Jesus is the Lord of heaven and earth."[5]

There is no doubt, then, that St. Irenæus, like the author of the *Clementine Recognitions*, belongs to the class of *Histo-*

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[1] II Thessal. ii, 14. [2] St. Irenæus, Against Heres., Book i, chap. i.
[3] St. Irenæus, ibid., Book iii, chaps. iii, iv. [4] St. Irenæus, ibid., Book iii, chap. xi, § 8.
[5] Farrar, loc. cit., p. 176.

rico theological expounders, who follow sound and correct principles of hermeneutics. But the case stands differently with two other apologetical writers of the second century, St. Athenagoras, and St. Theophilus of Antioch, who freely indulged in allegorical and fanciful explanations of Holy Writ.

3. **The School of Alexandria.** It was in the great catechetical school of Alexandria that, during the second part of the second century, there sprang up one of the most important schools of exegesis. The object and method of this exegetical school were naturally none other than those which Philo had formerly pursued with such success in that same city of Alexandria. The object was to unite philosophy with revelation; the method consisted in the allegorical system of interpretation.

As far as can be ascertained, the founder of the Christian exegetical school of Alexandria was St. Pantænus, a converted Stoic, who explained orally the Sacred Scriptures, and of whose writings only a few fragments remain. As we learn from Clement, the most illustrious of his disciples, Pantænus was an eloquent and skilful master, who knew better than all other teachers how to impart to his pupils his knowledge of the prophetic and Apostolic writings. About 190 A.D. he was succeeded as the head of the Alexandrian school by the same Clement, whose deep philosophical knowledge and close acquaintance with Greek literature were so highly esteemed by the heathen themselves, that they flocked in large numbers to his lectures. According to this new teacher, the sacred writings of both Testaments have a *parabolic* or *allegorical* sense, designed "for those who are chosen from among men and fitted by faith for the Christian γνῶσις." He admits, indeed, the existence of the literal, historical sense, but this lower sense which is obvious to all men produces only elementary faith, whereas the higher, the allegorical meaning, leads to the true *γνῶσις*,—the sublime wisdom. Finally, he distinctly proclaims, as we have seen St. Irenæus do, the necessity of ecclesiastical tradition as the principle by which the true meaning of Scripture must be determined.[1] But however sound, or least inoffensive, may appear the theoretical views of Clement of Alexandria, it cannot be denied that, in practice, his unbounded admiration for Philo betrays him, probably more than Pantænus, into fanciful allegorical interpretations. Thus, for example, he expounds the Decalogue in the following manner: "The writing of God and His formation of figures on the tablet is the creation of the world. The Decalogue, by a heavenly image, contains the sun, moon, stars, clouds, lights, wind, water, air, darkness, fire. This is the natural or physical decalogue of heaven. The image of the earth contains men, cattle, reptiles, beasts, and of aquatic tribes, fishes and whales; and again of birds, such as are carnivorous, and such as feed on the fruits of the earth; and of plants, in like manner, both those that bear fruit, and those which are barren. This is the natural decalogue of the earth."[2] Again, explaining the account of the erection of the tabernacle, and of the making of its furniture (Exod. chaps. xxv, xxvi), he says: "The candlestick situated south of the altar of incense signified the movements of the seven stars making circuits southward. From each side of the candlestick projected three branches with lights in them, because the sun placed in the midst of the other planets gives light both to those above and under him by a kind of divine music."[3] In the same allegorical strain, he tells us that the 366 bells hanging from the high priest's robe are "the period of a year, the acceptable year of the Lord, proclaiming and echoing the great advent of the Saviour."[1]

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[1] For quotations from Clement's writings regarding tradition, cfr. SCHANZ, A Christian Apology, vol. iii. p. 373. See, also, DAVIDSON, On Sacred Hermeneutics, pp. 81–83.

[2] Miscellanies, Book vi., chap. xvi.

[3] Miscellanies, Book v., chap. vi.

Clement was succeeded and surpassed by his disciple, Origen, the greatest master by far of the Alexandrian school. "By his *Tetrapla* and *Hexapla* Origen became the founder of all Textual Criticism; by his *Homilies* he fixed the type of a popular exposition; his *Scholia* were the earliest specimens of marginal explanations; his *Commentaries* furnished the Church with her first continuous exegesis, his book on *First Principles* was the earliest attempt at a systematic view of the Christian faith; his knowledge of the Bible, and his contributions to its interpretation were absolutely unrivalled."[2] Like Irenæus and Clement, this great scholar proclaims with no uncertain voice the great principle of an ecclesiastical tradition or Canon as the supreme test of exegesis. This exegetical tradition was handed down from the Apostles of the Lord, through the bishops of the Church; and nothing can be Christian truth which is not in accordance therewith.[3] Like his predecessors, too, he distinguishes several senses of Holy Writ, among which he recognizes the *literal*, *grammatical* or *historical*. But like Barnabas, Justin, and Clement of Alexandria, he is too ready to set forth allegorical explanations, which remind us of Philo and his Hellenistic school. Nay, more, he endeavors to justify his extreme allegorism by showing the utter impossibility for the biblical interpreter to take in their literal sense, passages which, if understood in this manner, would ascribe to God mere human form and feelings, or contain something inherently absurd (such as the prohibition to eat vultures), or convey unworthy or unjust precepts (as, for instance, the threat that the uncircumcised man-child should be destroyed out of his people), or imply historical contradictions, etc. As further proofs of his position, he appeals to St. Paul's statement that "the letter killeth, but the spirit quickeneth,"[1] and to the incidental use by the same Apostle, of the passage of the Red Sea by the Israelites as an analogy of Christian baptism,[2] and of the story of Agar and Sara as signifying "by an allegory" the two Testaments.[3] It is not therefore surprising to find that having thus shown, to his own satisfaction, the lawfulness, nay, even the necessity of an allegorical exposition, Origen should very often disregard in practice the literal and the moral senses of Holy Writ, which he had recognized in theory.

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[1] Miscellanies, Book v, chap. vi.

[2] FARRAR, History of Interpretation, p. 188.

[3] Cfr. for instance Origen's words in his Preface to the περὶ ἀρχῶν.

A few brief specimens of Origen's extreme allegorism will suffice here. The fact that Rebecca came to draw water at the well and there met the servant of Abraham (Gen. xxiv, 15, sq.), he takes to mean that we must "daily come to the wells of Scripture" in order to meet with Christ. In Gen. xviii, 2, the Septuagint says wrongly that the three men seen by Abraham stood *above* him. Origen interprets this as meaning that Abraham submitted himself to the will of God. In connection with St. Matt. (xix, 3, sqq.), where there is question of divorce, the same scholar enters upon a long digression about the marriage of the soul with its guardian angel. The words of Christ's forerunner in St. Matt. (iii, 11) and St. John (i, 27), that he is not worthy "to bear" or "to loose" the shoes of the coming Messias, Origen refers to Our Lord's incarnation and descent into Hades, etc., etc.

Thus will it be seen that Origen, like the other Alexandrines, proceeded in his interpretation upon the exaggeration of a truth, particularly as regards the writings of the Old Testament. "If we think of that long Revelation, unfolding itself gradually through centuries, and growing ever fuller and clearer as it proceeds, we cannot deny that its earlier stages contained the germ of the later, that much was anticipatory and preparative, that God granted to chosen spirits a vision more or less distinct of the long-hoped-for consummation.[1] The Priest, the King, the Prophet foreboded with increasing clearness the Lamb of God, the Son of David, the Man of Sorrows. There were shadows of good things to come; there were vaticinations; there were types. But it does not follow that all was type; it does not follow that the type is a perfect and elaborate figure of the antitype. The Alexandrines erred in both ways. They found symbols where there was no symbol; they treated symbols not as indications, as harbingers, but as proofs."[2]

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[1] II Cor. iii, 6.

[2] I Cor. x, 1, sq.

[3] Galat. iv, 21, sqq.

§ 2. *Biblical Interpretation from the Fourth to the Sixth Century.*

1. The Eastern Schools of Antioch, Edessa, and Cæsarea. While the influence of Origen continued to be felt powerfully in the school of Alexandria, chiefly through the exegetical teaching of St. Denys of Alexandria, another Greek school of Biblical Interpretation was beginning to spring up in Antioch of Syria. The origin of this great school has been traced back to the catechetical school founded in the Syrian capital, by the "presbyter Malchion,"[3] and powerfully developed by two of his disciples, Dorothæus and Lucian.

The exegetical method of the Antiochian school stood in great contrast with that pursued by the biblical scholars of

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[1] Cfr. Heb. xi, 13.

[2] Charles Bigg, The Christian Platonists of Alexandria, p. 148, sq.

[3] Cfr. Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, Book vii, chap. xxix.

Alexandria. Looking upon the literal sense as the meaning directly and primarily intended by God, the school of Antioch maintained that this sense was the one it imported most to determine, and that for obtaining it every available means, such as grammar, history, etc., should be used. It wisely rejected every arbitrary construction of the sacred text, and all the allegorical explanations for which no sound basis could be pointed out.[1] Whence it appears that the leading principles of this exegetical school were truly those of sober and sound hermeneutics, and this is why they are still adhered to by our contemporary exegetical writers.

The chief representatives of the Antiochian school are: (1) Diodorus of Tarsus († ab. 390); (2) Theodore of Mopsuestia († 429) and St. John Chrysostom († 407), the two great disciples of Diodorus; (3) Polychronius, Bishop of Apamæa († 430); (4) St. Isidore of Pelusium († ab. 450), a disciple of St. Chrysostom; and finally (5) Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus († ab. 458). Prominent among these illustrious interpreters stands St. John Chrysostom, whose exegetical works on the New Testament have contributed so much—as may be ascertained by consulting the best lexicons and critical commentaries,—towards a right understanding of the words and phrases of the original Greek. His homilies on the epistles of St. Paul are particularly appreciated; but his other commentaries, homilies, or sermons on various parts of Scripture,[2] bespeak all a master in the art of discovering and setting forth the true sense of the sacred text. Much better than any other member of the Antiochian school, he knows how to elicit from a passage its genuine sense (whether it be the proper, metaphorical, or allegorical), and next how to set it forth with precision, accuracy, clearness, and elegance. In fact, "as a bishop inspired with genuine love for the souls of his flock; as a preacher of surpassing eloquence whose popular exposition is based on fine scholarship and controlled by masterly good sense; as one who had a thorough familiarity with the whole of Scripture, and who felt its warm, tingling human life throbbing in all his veins; as one who took the Bible as he found it, and used it in its literal sense as a guide of conduct rather than as an armory of controversial weapons or a field for metaphysical speculations— Chrysostom stands unsurpassed among the ancient exegetes."[1]

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[1] Cfr. VIGOUROUX, Manuel Biblique, vol. i, n. 206.

[2] Besides his Homilies on St. Paul, we have of him sixty-seven Homilies and nine Sermons on Genesis; Expositions on Psalms iii-xii, xli-xlix and cviii-cl; Commentaries on Isaias; and finally, ninety Homilies on St. Matthew.

Side by side with the Greek-speaking section of the Syrian Church, whose great exegetical school was founded in Antioch, there was the hardly less important Syriac-speaking section of the same Church, having Edessa for its great biblical centre, and Aphraates and St. Ephrem for its leading interpreters. The hermeneutical principles of Aphraates are not so sound as those for which the Antiochian school is conspicuous in the early Christian Church. It is true that like the illustrious scholars of Antioch, he is chiefly concerned with the historical sense of Holy Writ, does not neglect its typical meaning, and recognizes openly ecclesiastical tradition as the supreme test of Catholic exegesis. But differently from them, he indulges freely in allegorical methods of interpretation, and follows too readily rabbinical traditions.[2] From this latter point of view, St. Ephrem is decidedly superior to Aphraates, for his extant works prove conclusively that he adopted fully the exegetical methods of the school of Antioch. His interpretation of Holy Writ is remarkable for its careful investigation of the literal sense, and for the tone of piety which pervades the exposition of the moral and religious teachings of the Sacred Scriptures. It might have been supposed that so illustrious a master as the holy deacon of Edessa would leave after him pupils who would write valuable works; in reality, the disciples of St. Ephrem proved very inferior scholars,[1] and the school of Edessa can hardly be said to have survived long the death of its greatest interpreter.

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[1] FARRAR, History of Interpretation, p. 220, sq. For the subsequent history of the school of Antioch, cfr. VIGOUROUX, Dictionnaire de la Bible, art. Antioche (Ecole Exégétique d'), col. 685.

[2] For illustrations of these statements, see J. PARISOT, art. Aphraate, in VIGOUROUX, Dict. de la Bible, col. 739, sq.

"The great Cappadocian triumvirate,"[2] St. Basil the Great († 379), St. Gregory Nazianzen († ab. 389), and St. Gregory of Nyssa († 396), is usually designated under the name of the school of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, although these Greek Fathers did not gather around them disciples eager to study under them. They were simply three illustrious scholars, who, in their explanation of Holy Writ, followed a kind of *via media* between the schools of Alexandria and Antioch, endeavoring to avoid equally the extreme allegorism of the former and the strict literalism of many members of the latter. The best-known work of the school of Cæsarea is the *Hexæmeron* of St. Basil, in which the holy Doctor propounds so forcibly the literal sense of the narrative of creation.[3]

2. The Latin Fathers. To whatever causes may be referred the lateness of large exegetical works among the Latins,[4] it must be granted that before the fourth century hardly any such Latin writing appeared in the Western churches. Thus Tertullian († about 220), and St. Cyprian († 258), though they be prolific writers, are satisfied with quoting Holy Writ usually in its literal sense, and with maintaining stoutly against the heretics of their time, that ecclesiastical tradition is the supreme test of sound interpretation, and it is only with St. Victorinus († 303) Bishop of Pettau in Styria, that regular Latin commentaries on the Sacred Scriptures make their appearance. Even in the earlier part of the fourth century, St. Hilary of Poitiers and St. Ambrose are the only two commentators whose exegetical works are considerable, and who give us an idea of the method of interpretation prevalent in their time. They both have undergone the influence of Origen, and indulge too freely in allegorical and mystical explanations.

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[1] His best-known pupils were Cyrillonas († ab. 396), Baleas († ab. 425), Isaac of Antioch († 460), etc. Cfr. R. DUVAL, La Litérature Syriaque, p. 337, sqq.

[2] FARRAR, loc. cit., p. 219.

[3] Cfr. Al. MOTAIS, L'Origine du Monde d'après la Tradition, p. 133, sqq.

[4] The principal reasons of this unquestionable fact are well exposed in CHAUVIN, Leçons d'Introduction, p. 578, sqq.

A much brighter era in the history of Biblical Interpretation among the Latins opens with the latter part of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century, when such Doctors as St. Jerome (331–420), St. Augustine (354–430), St. Peter Chrysologus († 450), Pope St. Leo the Great († 461), and St. Prosper of Aquitaine († 465), illustrate the Western Church by their numerous and brilliant writings. The most sober of them all, as he is also the best informed, is unquestionably St. Jerome, whose life and principal writings have been briefly given in chapter xiv. He is familiar with the writings of Origen, several of which he has rendered himself into Latin, and he professes a genuine admiration for the great Alexandrine Doctor. Nevertheless, his own exegesis, as indeed his own views about the Canon, is modelled not after Origen, but after the great Fathers of Antioch and Cæsarea. Without altogether rejecting allegorical and moral explanations of the sacred writings, St. Jerome is chiefly anxious to determine their exact literal sense in the light of philology, tradition, and history, and it must be said that his commentaries, especially those which he wrote on the Old Testament, are excellent works, equally remarkable for their scientific accuracy and their clearness of expression.

Next to St. Jerome comes the illustrious Bishop of Hippo, St. Augustine, who, in his work *On Christian Doctrine*, lays down the wisest rules to be followed for a sound interpretation of Holy Writ, and who throughout most of his writings, scatters judicious remarks having a direct bearing upon exegesis. According to him, the object of all interpretation is to express as accurately as possible the thoughts and meaning of an author, and in the case of the Holy Scriptures this is not attained by strictly insisting on each single expression by itself, but by close attention to the context, by comparison with kindred places where the sense is more clearly and definitely given, and finally by a reference to the essentials of Christian doctrine. His brief description of the accomplished interpreter is well worth quoting, because it conveys in a concrete manner some of his exegetical views. "The interpreter," says he, "should not be a lover of contention, but possess meekness in his piety. He should be furnished beforehand with a knowledge of the original languages, lest he be at a loss in unknown words and expressions. He should possess a knowledge of certain necessary things (biblical archæology), lest he be ignorant of the efficacy and nature of objects used in the way of similitude. He should likewise be aided by the truth of manuscripts which a skilful and diligent emendation has effected. Thus equipped, let him come to discuss and solve the difficult passages of the Scriptures." [1]

It cannot be denied that, judged by this very portraiture of the interpreter of holy writ, St. Augustine can hardly be spoken of as a scholar fully equipped for the work of explaining the sacred text. He knew no Hebrew, and had but a meagre knowledge of Greek. His acquaintance with biblical archæology was of necessity very limited, and the

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[1] On Christian Doctrine, Book iii, chap. i.

MSS. at his disposal but few. Time and again his renderings could not help being defective, because based on the old Latin versions, i.e., on mere transcripts of the Septuagint which he wrongly considered as inspired; and further he thought that "all" or "almost all" the truth of the Gospel could be found in the Old Testament, an erroneous frame of mind bound to betray his subtle genius into countless errors of interpretation. In point of fact, while his commentaries abound "in constant flashes of genius, and contain the rich results of insight and experience,"[1] they also bear to a very large extent the impress of his native subtlety and of his great fondness for allegorical explanations.

After St. Augustine, original interpreters of Holy Writ become very scarce in the Latin Church, and only Junilius Africanus, Cassiodorus, St. Gregory the Great, and St. Isidore of Seville, can be mentioned in the course of the sixth and seventh centuries.

§ 3. *Biblical Interpretation during the Middle Ages.*

1. Before the Scholastic Period. It would be a waste of time to insist at any length on the exegetical productions of the period which intervenes between the age of the Fathers of the Church and that of the scholastic theologians. Almost all the works of the time (eighth to eleventh centuries) are not original commentaries on the sacred books, but simply compilations made up of excerpts from earlier interpreters. The number and choice of these earlier interpreters vary considerably with the compiler, but his work bears the uniform stamp of the fashion of the time: it is a collection of extracts which he strings up (hence the name of *catenæ*, *chains*, given to such works) after an order of his own, and into which he introduces no change, except when he feels compelled to abbreviate or condense. The name of each Father or ecclesiastical writer whose works have been utilized, is given at the end of each excerpt, and it is but seldom that the compiler offers an opinion of his own.[1]

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[1] FARRAR, loc. cit., p. 237.

As during the period at which we have arrived in the history of Biblical Interpretation, exegetical skill and methods were at a low ebb both in the East and in the West, it is not surprising to find that this compilation process was carried on both by Greek and Latin interpreters. In fact, the only practical difference between the two sets of *Catenæ* which have come down to us, is that the Greek one has a better chance to supply us with quotations from writings which are no longer extant. The principal authors of *Catenæ* among the Greeks are: St. John Damascene († ab. 750), Œcumenius; Arethas; Euthymius Zigabenus; and Theophylact, all of the tenth century. Among the Latins, we may mention more particularly Ven. Bede († 735); Alcuin († 804); Rabanus Maurus († 856); Walafrid Strabo († 849), the celebrated author of the *Glossa Ordinaria*, a Catena which remained the ordinary exegetical hand-book for several centuries; and finally, Lanfranc († 1089). Beside these authors of Catenæ, we must not omit the names of more independent scholars, such as the Benedictine, Christian Druthmar († 850) among the Latins, and the Patriarch Photius († 891) among the Greeks.[2]

2. Scholastic Exegesis. The lack of originality which we have noticed in the predecessors of the scholastic theologians, continues to be one of the leading features of the interpreters of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Like their exegetical predecessors also, the schoolmen admit the existence of several senses in Holy Writ, and recognize tradition as the supreme rule of Biblical Interpretation. It cannot be denied, however, that several among them exhibit considerable originality of thought, although it is to be regretted that while they all proclaim that the literal sense alone can supply solid doctrinal proofs, their originality shows itself chiefly in the line of allegorical interpretation. It is also to be regretted that those who wrote regular commentaries on parts of Holy Writ, should have introduced into their treatises that dry and *a priori* method with which they were wont to handle questions of philosophy and theology. Yet, in one respect at least, their method was better than that of their predecessors; they busied themselves with each book as a whole, and sought to determine accurately the general purpose of its author. Finally, many of the defects noticeable in scholastic exegesis would have no doubt been avoided, had the interpreters of that period been conversant with the original languages, and with the archæology, geography and history of the Bible: they had certainly the power of mind sufficient to do excellent work in Biblical Interpretation; they lacked the technical knowledge which was gradually attained only long after their time.[1]

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[1] The *Glossæ* of this same period differ from the *Catenæ*, only in so far that the explanations borrowed from the Fathers chiefly of the first four centuries, are shorter than in the Catenæ, and are written either in the margin or between the lines of a copy of the Latin Vulgate.

[2] For further information, see art. Chaînes Bibliques, in VIGOUROUX, Dict. de la Bible col. 482, sqq.; art. Catena, in SCHAFF-HERZOG, Encyclopædia of Religious Knowledge; Samuel DAVIDSON, Sacred Hermeneutics, pp. 163–171.

The best-known interpreters among the schoolmen are: Hugo of St. Victor († 1141); Abailard († 1142); St. Bernard († 1158); Peter Lombard († 1164); Hugo of St. Cher († 1260); Albertus Magnus († 1280); St. Thomas Aquinas († 1274); St. Bonaventura († 1274); and Roger Bacon († 1248).

3. The Renaissance and Its Biblical Scholars.

With the fourteenth century opened a period of transition between the purely traditional exegesis of the preceding centuries and the more scientific method of subsequent ages. As early as 1311, Clement V and the Council of Vienne pointed out authoritatively the direction which Christian interpretation should take up and follow to resume gradually the scientific character, which it had possessed in the East and in the West, during the fourth and fifth centuries of our era. By their decree that Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldaic professorships should be established in the great universities of Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and Salamanca, they initiated a movement which must needs promote a comparison between the originals and the Latin versions, and entail as a necessary consequence the rejection of many received explanations which had no real basis on the letter of Holy Writ. The movement thus inaugurated was kept up and quickened by the influence of Nicholas de Lyra, O.S.F., († 1341) the one great commentator of the fourteenth century. This scholar was well acquainted with Hebrew and Rabbinic traditions; he admitted the fourfold sense of Holy Scripture, viz.: the *literal* or *historical*, the *mystical* or *spiritual*, the *allegorical*, and the *moral* or *tropological*, but clearly gave the preference to the literal sense. Here are his forcible words against the allegorism of those who had gone before him: "All of them (i. e., scriptural senses) presuppose the literal sense as the foundation. As a building declining from the foundation is likely to fall, so the mystic interpretation, which deviates from the literal sense, must be reckoned as unbecoming and unsuitable. Those, therefore, who wish to make proficiency in the study of the Sacred Scriptures, must begin with the literal sense; especially because from it alone any argument can be brought to prove or declare what is doubtful. . . . It must be observed, likewise, that the literal sense has been much obscured by the method of exposition recommended and practised by others who, though they may have said many things well, have yet touched on the literal but sparingly, and have so multiplied the mystical senses as nearly to intercept and choke it. Proposing, therefore, to avoid these and similar practices, I intend, with God's assistance, to insist upon the literal sense, and to insert occasionally a very few brief mystical expositions."[1] In his great exegetical work, entitled, "*Postillæ perpetuæ, seu brevia commentaria in universa Biblia*," Nicholas de Lyra followed with real success the method he had thus sketched for himself. Unfortunately, as he did not know Greek, he could not take the original text as the basis of his commentary on the New Testament: in fact, he was satisfied to interpret the Latin Vulgate, chiefly with the help of St. Augustine and of St. Thomas.

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[1] Trochon, Introduction à l'Etude de l'Ecriture Sainte, vol. i, p. 204 (Paris, 1889).

The lack of acquaintance with the Greek language, which, as we have just remarked, made the work of Lyranus on the New Testament so inferior to his Commentary on the Hebrew Text, began somewhat to disappear in Italy in the fourteenth century, and also, through Italian influence, in some other countries. It was only, however, after the fall of Constantinople under the Turkish yoke (in 1453) had caused Greek grammarians and scholars to take refuge in Western Europe, that Greek language and literature were extensively studied. Other causes, foremost among which must be reckoned the invention of the art of printing, contributed likewise powerfully to make of the fifteenth century the period of a great movement of revival in Greek learning and art, which has been called the *Renaissance* and in which several Popes, notably Nicholas V and Leo X, took a prominent part.

The principal commentators of this period of transition were Gerson († 1429), whose hermeneutical principles were far superior to the application he made of them ; Alphonsus Tostat († 1455), more diffuse than scientific as an interpreter ; J. Reuchlin († 1522), the first Christian who composed a grammar and a lexicon of the Hebrew language ; Erasmus († 1536), the most celebrated Greek scholar of the time ; Card. Cajetan (†1534), who has left valuable commentaries on St. Paul, the Gospels and the Psalms ; finally, Santes Pagnini († 1541), celebrated for his Hebrew and Rabbinic attainments.

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[1] The words of Lyranus are quoted in DAVIDSON, Sacred Hermeneutics, p. 176, footn. 1.

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER XIX.

HISTORY OF BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

Section II. Since the Protestant Reformation.

- I. FIRST PERIOD: BEFORE THE RISE OF RATIONALISM:
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- II. SECOND PERIOD: SINCE THE RISE OF RATIONALISM:
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CHAPTER XIX.

HISTORY OF BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

SECTION II. SINCE THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION.

§ 1. *First Period: Before the Rise of Rationalism.*

1. Exegesis of the Early Reformers. It would be a long and tedious task to relate in detail the individual exegetical views of the early Protestant reformers, and their vain efforts to build up a system of Biblical Interpretation altogether independent of the traditions of past ages. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to a brief exposition of the exegetical methods of their great "prophet"[1] Luther, and to a distinct mention of the general principles which his companions and helpers held in common with him.

As early as 1520 Luther proclaimed openly that he would not submit to authority in exegesis, "*Leges interpretandi verbum Dei non patior.*"[2] He recognized, indeed, the usefulness of patristic writings, when they are read with discretion, yet contended that it is by comparing Scripture with clearer Scripture, that we must arrive at the truth.[3] We must not twist Holy Writ, but understand it in "its literal sense alone, which is the whole essence of faith and of Christian theology." "In the schools of theologians it is a well-known rule that Scripture is to be understood in four ways, literal, allegoric, moral, anagogic. But if we wish to handle Scripture aright, our one effort will be to obtain *unum, simplicem, germanum et certum sensum literalem.*" "Each passage has one clear, definite, and true sense of its own. All others are but doubtful and uncertain opinions."[1] Elsewhere Luther speaks of allegories as the "awkward, unclean, earthly, sluttish rags and shags of interpretation."[2] Strict self-consistency, however, does not seem to have been a special canon of his method of exegesis, for he reverses at times his verdict against allegorical interpretation, as, for instance, when he declares that: "*Grammatica quidem necessaria est et vera, sed ea non debet regere res, sed servire rebus.*"[3] In point of fact, "when he reads the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation, and Justification by Faith, and Reformation dogmatics and polemics, into passages written more than a thousand years before the Christian era—when, in a spirit worthy of Rabbi Aqiba himself, he infers the divinity of the Messias and the 'Communication of Idioms' from the particle את in Gen. v, 22, he is adopting an unreal method, which had been rejected a millennium earlier by the clearer insight and more unbiased wisdom of the school of Antioch. As a consequence of this method, in his commentary on Genesis, he adds nothing to Lyranus, except a misplaced dogmatic treatment of patriarchal history."[4]

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[1] Luther is called thus by FARRAR, History of Interpretation, p. 341.

[2] Letter to Pope Leo X.

[3] Cfr. LUTHER, Comm. in Gen., cap. iii, p. 43*a*.

Two other exegetical principles which were most valuable in the eyes of Luther, remain to be mentioned. The first regards the *perspicuity* of Scripture, which he proclaimed as follows: "The Holy Ghost is the plainest writer and speaker that is in heaven or on earth: therefore, His words can have no more than the one simple meaning, which we call the scriptural or literal sense."[1] The second is the absolute *right of private judgment*, in virtue of which every Christian may, and, indeed, must, test his faith by Scripture. Of course such principles could be far more easily formulated than applied, so that it is not surprising to find that Luther himself was not a little puzzled when he was confronted with the fact that despite the so-called perspicuity of Scripture there is scarcely a verse in Holy Writ which has not been interpreted in different ways, and when Zwingli, the Anabaptists, Carlstadt, etc., all appealed to the right of private judgment to interpret Scripture in a sense opposed to his own. Nor is it very surprising to find that, despairing to settle exegetical difficulties by simple appeals to the Bible, Melanchthon and Calvin should have advocated recourse to an authority distinct from the Holy Scriptures. The former proposed that all should abide by "a consensus of pious men;" the latter wished that a "synod of true bishops" should be obeyed. Such views were rejected by Luther, who, together with Zwingli, maintained that, in difficult passages, Holy Writ should be interpreted according to "the analogy of faith," i.e., according to the whole tenor of Scripture teaching. But as by the analogy of faith, the early reformers soon understood *harmony with received doctrines*, the Lutheran rule of interpreting the Bible according to the "analogy of faith" was "soon made to mean the same as the old Romish rule that no explanation is to be admitted which runs counter to the current ecclesiastical dogmas."[2]

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[1] These quotations are taken from FARRAR, loc. cit., p. 327.

[2] See G. T. LADD, The Doctrine of Sacred Scripture, vol. ii, p. 169. Cfr. LUTHER, Comm. in Gen., cap. iii, p. 42*a*; cap. xv, p. 179*a*; cap. xxx, p. 417.

[3] Comm. in Gen., cap. xvi, p. 188*b*. Luther is also quoted as having said: "*Grammaticam decet Theologiæ cedere.*"

[4] FARRAR, History of Interpretation, p. 334. Nicholas Lyranus and Rashi are traceable throughout Luther's Commentary on Genesis, and Richard Simon says rightly that, "he usually added nothing to them, except his own prejudices."

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[1] Answer to Emser, quoted by Ladd, The Doctrine of Sacred Scripture, vol. ii, p. 169.

[2] Farrar, loc. cit., p. 333.

But however great may have been the doctrinal and exegetical differences between the early reformers and Luther, it is beyond doubt that they were at one with him as regards the following points: (1) the rejection of scholastic methods and of a fourfold scriptural sense; (2) an instinctive distrust and relative giving up of allegorical interpretation; (3) the repudiation of ecclesiastical tradition as an authority in the interpretation of Holy Writ; (4) the importance of the original languages to get at the exact meaning of the sacred writers; (5) confidence in the possibility of clearing up difficulties—at least as far as essential truths are concerned—by a comparative study of biblical passages; (6) the tendency to consider, "the analogy of faith" as an indispensable rule of Hermeneutics.[1]

Such are the leading principles which were propounded by the early reformers in common with Luther, but to which, like their great leader, they were often unfaithful in their exegetical works.[2]

2. Biblical Interpretation among Catholics. While Protestant interpreters thus endeavored to frame and apply exegetical rules independently of the traditions of past ages, Catholic commentators showed themselves faithful to the spirit which had ever animated the leading interpreters of the Christian Church. Far from looking upon the Holy Scriptures as the sole and sufficient source of divine Revelation, they held that living Catholic tradition contains the unwritten Word of God and is the authorized interpreter of the sacred writings. Far from relying entirely on their own ability and despising as worthless the labors of the great interpreters of past centuries, they not only admired the works of their predecessors, but also availed themselves of their valuable doctrinal and exegetical contents. Thus did faithfulness to ecclesiastical tradition prove to Catholic interpreters a safeguard against the many vagaries noticeable in the exegetical works of most of the early reformers, and secure to them a considerable amount of positive information.

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[1] Cfr. LADD, loc. cit., p. 171; FARRAR, loc. cit., p. 342.

[2] The principal commentaries of the early reformers are sufficiently indicated in VIGOUROUX, Manuel Biblique, vol. i, n. 217; and CHAUVIN, Leçons d'Introduction Générale, p. 600, sq.

To this first praiseworthy feature of Catholic exegesis, was added another hardly less commendable. Annoyed by the boasts of truly scientific interpretation emanating from Protestant sources, orthodox scholars endeavored to be more strict in their exposition of Holy Writ, and further, as they were conscious of possessing the truth, they did not hesitate to follow their adversaries on their supposed vantage-ground: like the Protestants of the time, they appealed to grammar, history and criticism, and by a careful study of the sacred text, showed how, from a purely scientific standpoint, the difficulties against Catholic positions were really groundless. For this purpose, orthodox scholars paid close attention to the literal meaning of the words, examined the context carefully, treated with moderation and real insight questions of Biblical Criticism, discussed with great skill the explanations offered by ancient interpreters, took up and dealt with the difficulties raised by their opponents, in a straightforward and thorough manner. In a word, they so happily combined the practice of a truly scientific method with genuine respect for tradition, that the period which elapsed between the rise of Protestantism and that of Rationalism, and was so fertile in biblical interpreters, has justly been called the "golden age" of Catholic exegesis.

Prominent in this galaxy of able scholars, were (1) Andrew Masius († 1573), one of the editors of the Antwerp *Polyglot*; (2) Cornelius Jansenius († 1576), Bishop of Gand,[1] and author of an excellent commentary on the Gospels; (3) John Maldonatus, (S. J.) († 1583), perhaps still our best commentator of the four Gospels; (4) Francis Foreiro (O. P.) († 1587), the author of a remarkable commentary on Isaias; (5) William Estius († 1613), whose excellent work on the epistles of St. Paul cannot be too much recommended to the student; (6) Benedict Justiniani (S. J.) († 1622), another remarkable commentator of St. Paul; (7) James Bonfrère (S. J.) († 1642), known chiefly for his *Præloquia in totam Scripturam;* (8) John Morin († 1659), whose critical works and ability are worthy of all praise; (9) lastly, Augustin Calmet (O. S. B.) (1672–1757), who in his learned commentary on the whole Bible gives chiefly the literal sense of the sacred writings.[1]

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[1] Not to be taken for his nephew, the celebrated heretic of the same name.

3. Principal Protestant Schools of Interpretation. In strange contrast with the harmony which characterizes Catholic exegesis at this epoch, stands the confusion into which Protestant interpretation soon fell after the death of the great reformers. In fact, it is no easy task in the midst of the various "Confessional Schools," which arose at the time, to recognize and point out even the leading features which characterized them all; we shall, however, endeavor to do so, without entering into a detailed examination of them.

As might naturally be expected, they were all animated by a strong spirit of opposition to Rome, and in consequence, none of them lost sight of the essentially Protestant principle which placed the authority of Scripture far above that of tradition. Everywhere in the ponderous "scholastic" treatises of their leading divines,[2] we meet with such theses as:

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[1] For further information, cfr. DANKO, De Sacra Scriptura Commentarius, pars tertia, p. 334, sqq.; CORNELY, Introductio Generalis, p. 672, sqq.

[2] The lengthy and heavy character of these treatises is well described by FARRAR, History of Interpretation, p. 361, sqq.

"Scripture holds its authority from itself, i. e., from God who inspired it; Scripture is the supreme judge in matters of faith and for everything relating to salvation; Scripture is the source of all authority in the Church, and the latter can as little pretend to exercise any patronage over Scripture as it can pretend to have inspired it."[1]

A second assumption no less dear to the Protestant schools of this period, is that the Bible contains a consistent and symmetrical system of doctrine, which can be extracted from it by means of grammar and logic, and must be considered as the *Regula fidei*, as a standard of doctrine against which no interpretation of the Bible should prevail. Hence "the learning of the time was much displayed in pedantic efforts to discover proof-texts not already pre-empted, or in discussing such passages as seemed to refute the prevailing dogmatism; only with a view, however, to twist them so as to render them tributary to the same dogmatism (i. e., to the dogmatic bias of a different school)." A large portion of the Bible thus became *used up* as proof-texts for the current systematic statements of faith, and all passages of Scripture were expected to be understood by all the orthodox as in accordance with these statements. The number of passages, the interpretation of which was thus fixed by dogmatic considerations, was constantly being enlarged. "That an appeal was made in such cases to an inner witness of the Holy Spirit as a pledge for their truth, sounds," says Reuss, "like grim irony."[2]

A third exegetical view, and the last to be mentioned here as widely prevalent in the Protestant schools of interpretation, maintained that the original text of the Bible had been transmitted in its absolute primitive purity, so that the smallest vowel-sign or accent of the Hebrew Scriptures, the most irregular forms found in the Greek New Testament, were to be held as having emanated directly from the divine influence of the Holy Spirit.

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[1] REUSS, History of the Canon of the Holy Scriptures in the Christian Church, p. 343, sq.

[2] LADD, The Doctrine of Sacred Scripture, p. 181, sq.

It will be noticed that the tenets held in common by the leading Protestant schools down to the rise of Rationalism were the outcome of an "irresistible demand for stability,"[1] for it was naturally felt that a supreme and final authority was a practical necessity to counterbalance the decisive influence of the right of private judgment upon biblical exegesis.[2] Now this supreme and final authority could not be, for any Protestant sect, distinct from the Bible, the text of which should be beyond every suspicion of corruption, and the meaning of which should be determined in difficult passages by no other means than its own teaching contained in clearer passages, and already embodied—as was claimed by each school—in a binding "Symbol," "Formula," or "Confession of Faith."

Thus, then, a certain kind of unity and stability of interpretation was secured within each Protestant school, but it was clearly to the detriment not only of freedom, but also of vitality. "The followers of the reformers thought they could confine and control by formulas and official seals a revolution in the realm of mind whose original force none measured, whose final goal none perceived. In the Lutheran Church, the stagnation came in, and victoriously, with the Formula of Concord (in 1580); in the Reformed, somewhat later, with the decrees of Dort (in 1619), but as the decision of a controversy between freedom and slavery in the realm of Scripture Interpretation."[3] The only theological works, and the only commentaries of this period which still retained any vitality, were those of smaller schools, which, while recognizing tacitly the faith of their respective churches as a guide in their exposition of the Holy Scriptures, yet claimed and exercised a certain amount of independence. As schools of this description, we shall simply mention here (1) the *Arminian* school, which counted among its members excellent classical scholars, and which cultivated with considerable success the long-neglected historical element in interpretation; (2) the *Cocceian* school, which, like the preceding, flourished also in Holland, and which spent a vast amount of learning upon the idea that the old Covenant being a figure of the New, should be interpreted as a continuous series of types which foreshadowed the New Dispensation;[1] (3) the school of the *Pietists*, whose watchword was "not to interpret Scripture solely from their creeds, and thus erect the genuine popedom in the midst of their Church,"[2] and whose distinct aim was to bring all men into direct contact with the sacred text, that they might derive from it an increase of spiritual life by searching its mystical and typical depths; (4) the school of *Textual Critics*, which proved to evidence that the original text of both Testaments had suffered in its transmission from exactly the same causes as those which have altered the text of every other ancient writing; finally, (5) the *Syncretistic* school, whose watchwords were concord and tolerance, and which admitted as authoritative both Holy Writ and the consensus of the first five centuries.[3] Of the Socinian school we shall speak a little later, in connection with the origin of Rationalism.

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[1] REUSS, History of the Sacred Scriptures of the New Testament, vol. ii, p. 572 (Engl. Transl.).

[2] Cfr. FARRAR, History of Interpretation, p. 370, sq.

[3] REUSS, History of the Sacred Scriptures of the New Testament, vol. ii, p. 572 (Engl. Transl.). See also, FARRAR, loc. cit., p. 374.

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[1] For an able presentation of the positions of the Cocceian school, see FARRAR, loc. cit., p. 385, sq.

[2] Cfr. REUSS, ibid., p. 578.

[3] For interesting details concerning the Interpretation of Holy Writ among the Puritans, cfr. BRIGGS, General Introduction, p. 459, sqq.

These more or less orthodox schools [1] did not produce the same number of remarkable scholars. None of them, however, was altogether barren in interpreters of real ability. The better-known names among the strict Lutherans are those of Nic. Selnekker († 1592); Dav. Chytræus († 1600); Abr. Calovius († 1688); and Seb. Schmidt († 1696); and among the less strictly orthodox Lutherans, we may mention Georg Calixtus († 1656), the great leader of the Syncretistic movement. Among the Reformed scholars, we must name J. Piscator († 1625); D. Pareus († 1622); and M. Amyraut († 1664); and more particularly, Hugo Grotius (De Groot, † 1645); Clericus (J. Le Clerc, † 1736); and J. Wetstein († 1754), the leading members of the Arminian school. As prominent among the Cocceians, we may mention beside J. Cocceius (Koch, † 1669), Campegius Vitringa († 1722); J. Braun († 1709); and S. Van Til († 1713). The Pietists possessed such eminent scholars as the two Michaelis (J. H., † 1738, and C. B., † 1713), and J. A. Bengel († 1752).[2] Finally, among the Textual Critics and archæological writers of the period, we may name particularly L. Cappel († 1658); Brian Walton († 1661), the editor of the London *Polyglot;* J. Lightfoot († 1675) the author of the valuable *Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ;* and C. Schöttgen († 1751), the writer of a work of similar import to that of Lightfoot, and entitled *Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ in universum Novum Testamentum.*

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[1] It should be borne in mind that the test of orthodoxy was the creed or confession of the leading sect, with which those various schools were more or less identified.

[2] The Annotationes in Vetus et Novum Testamentum by Grotius; the Commentary of Vitringa, on Isaias; and the Gnomon Novi Testamenti of Bengel, still deserve perusal. For further information concerning the leading interpreters of these various schools, see REUSS, History of the New Testament; FARRAR, History of Interpretation; LADD, The Doctrine of the Sacred Scripture, vol. ii; and Dictionaries and Cyclopædias.

§ 2. *Second Period: Since the Rise of Rationalism.*

1. Origin and Principal Phases of Rationalistic Interpretation. With the middle of the eighteenth century a new era opened in the history of Biblical Interpretation. It was now no longer possible to think of the original text of the Bible as having been transmitted in its primitive purity, and the yoke of the objective standard of doctrine embodied in the "Symbols" or "Confessions," had gradually become unbearable to many scholars of the Lutheran and Reformed churches. These scholars disliked sincerely every rule of faith, which, as they thought, could be just as erroneous as those "creeds" or "confessions," which had been imposed by Protestant dogmatists since the time of the early reformers, and they instinctively yearned for the full enjoyment of the right of private judgment. Thus were they carried back to the rejection of every exterior authority, that is, to a principle which lay at the very basis of the Protestant Reformation, and which will ever be the main underlying principle of the Rationalistic method of interpretation.[1]

Beside this general principle, and indeed as a natural consequence of it, Rationalism admits that reason alone is the means whereby Holy Writ should be interpreted, and that Scripture should be understood in harmony with the data of human reason. Not only does it affirm that the sacred books should be studied from a historical point of view, that is, as writings which came into existence in time and which must not be comprehended from the standpoint of our own times and ways of thinking; it proceeds farther, and contends that everything in the Holy Scriptures that would run counter or simply transcend the laws of human experience, should not be accepted literally, but rather treated as things of the kind are, when met with in confessedly uninspired books. "In Rationalism," well remarks Fr. W. Reinhard,[1] "reason is the sole arbiter. What reason cannot comprehend and accept, can never form part of the Rationalist's conviction. His consciousness is homogeneous, and his intellect consistent throughout. To him, Scripture is like any other book. He accepts it only when it agrees with his opinions, and then only as an illustration and affirmation, not as an authority."

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[1] Cfr. LADD, loc. cit., p. 218, sqq.

However contrary to the personal views of Luther concerning the Bible, this second principle of Rationalism may appear at first sight, it remains true, nevertheless, that it is simply a further consequence of the absolute right of private judgment, for which the chief leader of Protestantism fought so resolutely against Rome and against Melanchthon and Calvin. This has been clearly realized by Rationalists, with whom it has ever been "a favorite view that the Reformation was produced by reason asserting her rights; and that it was then an easy step to take, when they claimed as much right to use reason within the domain of Protestantism, as their fathers possessed when within the pale of Catholicism."[2] Nay, more, it seems that Luther himself admitted implicitly this further consequence of his great principle of private judgment; when asked by the Elector of Brandeburg if it were true that he had said he should not stop unless convinced from Scripture, he answered, "Yes, my lord, unless I am convinced by clear and evident reasons!" Finally, the supremacy of reason over the Bible was so natural an outcome of Luther's principle of private judgment, that it was formulated and applied, at a very early date, by the Socinians. The great leader of this Protestant sect was Faustus Socinus (Sozini, † 1604), who, in his various writings, "made the divine and authoritative character of the sacred books dependent on their authenticity and on the conformity of their contents with man's reason, so that everything in the Bible which runs counter to or departs from reason, does not come from God, and must be set aside." [1]

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[1] Quoted in SCHAFF-HERZOG, Encyclopædia of Religious Knowledge, art. Rationalism.

[2] J. F. HURST, History of Rationalism, p. 31.

The Socinian doctrines did not play, it is true, a very apparent part in the history of interpretation during the golden age of Protestant scholasticism which soon followed the death of the early reformers. Yet, their partisans never gave up the fight against the representatives of the Lutheran and Calvinistic "Formulas" or "Confessions," and were greatly aided in their efforts to show the supremacy of human reason, by the interest which gathered around the rational methods advocated by Bacon, Descartes and Wolf, and by the influence which was exerted upon the public mind by the works of the English deists, the German illuminati, and the French philosophers.[2] Other circumstances of the same period contributed much to render the old positions of Socinus acceptable to many scholars, who, especially in Germany, formed a school of transition between the veterans of Protestant dogmatism, and the coming phalanxes of Rationalism. They were men who, though accessible to the Rationalistic theories, did not allow themselves to be carried away by them. "At their head stood Johann August Ernesti († 1791) and their activity began at Leipsig. Rather philologists than theologians, they brought to the interpretation of the Scriptures rather taste and conscientiousness than spiritual depth and philosophical views. Much admired in their time as the antipodes of the artificial style that was departing, they have long since ceased to satisfy our age with their rhetorical superficiality. . . . They were soon outstripped, and almost more neutral than conservative, not only had no claim to enduring influence, but were obliged to look on while their weapons, according to the usual course of things, were made use of by a more violent party."[1]

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[1] E. FABAUD, Histoire de la Doctrine de l'Inspiration des Saintes Ecritures, p. 89. The writings of Socinus are found, in the Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum quos Unitarios Vocant (Amsterdam, 1656, sq).

[2] For details concerning these various sources of influence, cfr. HURST, History of Rationalism.

Side by side with this school of transition, flourished a more thorough-going school under the leadership of Johann Salomo Semler († 1791), who formulated distinctly the Rationalistic views which were, so to speak, everywhere in the air, and endeavored to put them on a solid basis. He questioned vigorously the extent and authority of the Canon of Holy Writ, distinguished between the local and temporary, the permanent and eternal, in the Scriptures, and invented his famous *Accommodation Theory.* Whatever defied the critic's acumen or the believer's spiritual grasp, he explained away on the principle that it was local and temporary. Whatever in the New Testament transcended or ran counter to the philosophical views of his age, he ascribed to the desire of Christ or His Apostles to adapt themselves to the prejudices or other mistaken notions of their contemporaries, and thus reduced their various utterances concerning angels, the Messias, demons, the resurrection of the dead, etc., etc., to so many *accommodations* to prevailing errors.

Instead of calling attention to what then appeared the objectionable parts of Revelation, and disposing of them as accommodations to current prejudices, the celebrated Immanuel Kant († 1804), endeavored to educe from, or rather read into the words of Holy Writ, moral teachings of the highest order, as being alone constitutive of religion and worthy of the all-perfect revealing God. The only value and object of the Bible is, according to him, to introduce, illustrate, and confirm the religion or morality of reason, and, in consequence, it should be interpreted in its various parts (historical, dogmatic, prophetic, etc.), so as to yield a sense calculated to further man's morality.

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[1] Reuss, History of the Sacred Scriptures of the New Testament, vol. ii, p. 591, sqq. The best known scholars beside Ernesti were: J. C. Döderlein († 1792); J. G. and E. F. C. Rosenmüller († 1815; † 1835).

Kant's exegetical system, as may easily be noticed, had a twofold advantage over that of Semler: it left in the dark the difficulties to dogmatic belief which had been made very prominent in the latter's theories, and appealed directly to the noblest instincts of our moral nature. It is not therefore surprising to find that it exercised a great influence upon subsequent systems of interpretation. On the other hand, its utter inadequacy was apparent to all scholars who were familiar with the exegetical difficulties raised by Rationalism, and this led to a new attempt to meet the issues which the system of Kant had practically refused to deal with. The new school of interpretation received the name of *psychologico-historical*, from the twofold leading aspect of its method: it regarded the facts recorded in the Bible as indeed *historical*, yet as needing to be interpreted by means of *psychological* data. The substance of the biblical narrative is therefore to be retained as in accordance with actual occurrences, but the miraculous dress with which it is invested, should be, and can easily be set aside by the interpreter who knows how to enter into the frame of mind of the inspired narrator, and supply the natural circumstances which must have occurred, but which the imagination of the sacred writer caused him to take and describe as marvellous facts. The following example will show the nature of the system as developed chiefly by Eichhorn († 1827) and Paulus († 1851). "It exhibits Paulus' exposition of John vi, 19: When they had rowed about five and twenty or thirty stadia (about two hours space) they see Jesus walking about over the sea (John xxi, 1, on the bank or shore, which is higher than the sea) and near the ship (which kept near the shore).[1] In a similar naturalistic way, are the plain statements of extraordinary facts contained in the Bible brought down to the level of human experience and comprehension.

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[1] SAMUEL DAVIDSON, loc. cit., p. 198.

Akin to the foregoing theory is the mythical system of interpretation, which was applied to the Old Testament chiefly by De Wette († 1849), and to the New, by Strauss († 1874). Like the psychologico-historical, the mythical theory believes in the sincerity of the biblical narrators, but differently from it, regards the very substance of most important facts as the product of man's imagination, though they are apparently described as so many occurrences. The mythical system as applied to Our Lord's life by Strauss, in his *Leben Jesu* (1835), has been well summed up as follows: "There was a fixed idea in the Jewish mind, fed on the Old Testament writings, that the Messias should perform certain miracles,—heal the sick, raise the dead, etc.; there was also a strong persuasion in the minds of the disciples of Jesus that He was actually the promised Messias. In consequence, the mythico-poetical faculty invented the miracles corresponding to the Messianic conception, and ascribed them to Him."[1] The leading disciples of Strauss in Germany were Ludwig Feuerbach († 1872), and Bruno Bauer († 1882), who soon showed clearly by the extreme positions which they assumed, whither their master's teaching truly led.

The last Rationalistic system of interpretation to be mentioned is that of Ferdinand Baur († 1860), whose peculiar *Tendenz* theory was set forth in connection with the last stage of the history of the New Testament Canon. His method of exegesis is the natural outcome of his critical conclusions about the formation of our New Testament writings.

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[1] Art. Mythical Theory (the) in SCHAFF-HERZOG, Encyclopædia of Religious Knowledge. For details concerning this rationalistic system, see Samuel DAVIDSON, On Sacred Hermeneutics, p. 206, sqq.; HURST, History of Rationalism, p. 246, sqq.; LICHTENBERGER, History of German Theology in the Nineteenth Century, p. 320, sqq.

As he admits that they were respectively written *for* or *against* the two great parties which existed in the early Church, viz., the party of Peter and that of Paul, their historical character should be studied from that standpoint. They are literary productions which bear the impress of the time when they were composed, but can be of little use beside making us acquainted with those long-extinguished parties.[1]

2. Protestant Exegesis in Germany, England, and America. It is not to be supposed that these various schools of Rationalism did not meet with numerous and able opponents even in Germany, the stronghold of Rationalistic exegesis. Despite the great and constant inroads of Rationalism into the camp of conservative Protestants, excellent scholars among them neglected nothing to counteract the disastrous influence of unbelieving critics. They followed step by step the ever-varying forms of Rationalistic interpretation, called attention to its *a priori* principle,—the denial of the supernatural,—and pointed out the unsatisfactory or even extravagant character of its conclusions. To do this more effectively, they improved their own methods of study by availing themselves of every advance in philology, Textual Criticism, history, archæology, etc., which had been achieved since the middle of the eighteenth century. The best known among these conservative scholars are Hävernick († 1845); Stier († 1862); Hengstenberg († 1869); Œhler († 1872); Tholuck († 1877); Philippi († 1882); Keil († 1888); and Delitzsch († 1890).[2] It cannot be denied, however, that during the last ten years, Rationalistic exegesis seems to have got the upper hand in German universities to an extent unknown up to that time.

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[1] The history of the Schools of *Higher Criticism* will be given in the forthcoming volumes on *Special* Introduction.

[2] The titles of their principal works are given by A. CAVE, Introduction to Theology. Most of them have been rendered into English, and are published by T. T. Clark, Edinburgh. Somewhat less conservative are the following German scholars: Ebrard, Lange, Meyer, Olshausen, Riehm, Strack, and Weiss: most of their works have also appeared in English translations.

The case stands differently in England and America, where the various Protestant denominations have preserved much of their *Confessional* spirit. In Great Britain, among the more conservative scholars may be mentioned Alford, Beet, F. C. Cook, A. B. Davidson, Ellicott, Fausset, Gloag, Lightfoot, Perowne, Plummer, Plumptre, Salmon, Swete, Westcott, and Wordsworth. Among the less conservative, Bruce, Dods, Cheyne, Driver, Kirkpatrick, Sanday, and Stanley. Among American interpreters of the more conservative type may be named, Alexander, Green, Hackett, Hovey, Robinson, Schaff, Moses Stuart, Terry, and Whedon; and among the less conservative, Briggs, E. P. Gould, Moore, Toy, and H. P. Smith.[1]

3. Interpretation among Catholics. While Rationalistic Protestants drew from the principles of Luther the logical consequences therein contained, and conservative Protestants were saved from similar denials of supernatural Revelation only because they clung to the authority of their respective "Formulas" or "Confessions of Faith," Catholic scholars moved securely on the lines of patristic tradition, such as they had been re-stated by the Council of Trent, and acted upon by the great commentators of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Beside this great safeguard, they have enjoyed, especially in the century just coming to a close, the precious advantage of having at their disposal for interpreting the sacred text, the data of history, geography, archæology, etc., to an extent unknown to their predecessors. Again, as the polemics of conservative Protestants were chiefly directed against Rationalism, Catholic scholars were able to draw from such conservative sources, valuable arguments against the enemies of divine Revelation. Finally, as the exegetical method almost invariably followed by Catholic commentators during this last period, has been that of the Antiochian school and of the excellent Catholic interpreters of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they have been chiefly concerned with the literal sense, studying it in the light of the context, of parallel passages, of linguistics, etc.; and some of their productions can compare in value with those of the best scholars of the day outside the Church.

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[1] For references to their works, see CAVE, ibid.

We subjoin a select list of the most important works in German, French, English and Latin, which Catholic commentators have published during the nineteenth century:

I. IN GERMAN:

Aug. BISPING, Exeget. Handb. zum N. T. (2d Edit. 1867, sqq.).
BICKELL: Der Prediger (1885); Job (1894); Die Sprüche, etc.
GUTBERLET: Das Buch der Weisheit (1874); Das Buch Tobias (1877).
Adalb. MAIER: Johan., Roem., I, II Corinth., Hebraebr. (1847-1865).
NETELER: Ezechiel (1870); Die Büch. der Chronik (1872); Esdr., Nehem., und Esther (1877); Der Proph. Isaias (1876).
ROHLING: Das Salom. Sprüchbuch (1879); Daniel (1876).
SCHANZ: Matth. (1879); Marcus (1881); Lucas (1883); Johann (1885).
SCHOLZ: Comment. zum Joel (1885); Jerem. (1880); Hoseas (1882).
THALHOFER: Erklärung der Psalmen (1880).

II. IN FRENCH:

LA SAINTE BIBLE (Lethielleux, Paris, 25 vols.) A Commentary on all the books of the Old and New Test., by CLAIR, CRELIER, FILLION, DRACH, LESÊTRE, and TROCHON.
DEHAUT: l'Evangile Expliqué, Défendu, Medité (4 vols.).
MOTAIS: l'Ecclésiaste (2 vols., 1876)

FILLION: Les Psaumes Commentés (1893).

FOUARD: Vie de Notre Seigneur J. C. (2 vols.); St. Pierre; St. Paul (2 vols.).

LE HIR: Etudes Bibliques (2 vols., 1869); Job (1873); Les Psaumes (1876); Isaie, Jeremie, Ezechiel, (1877); Le Cantique des Cantiques (1883).

LOISY: Le Livre de Job (1892); Les Evangiles Synoptiques; Histoire du Canon, etc.

VIGOUROUX: Manuel Biblique; Bible et Découvertes Modernes, etc.

III. IN ENGLISH:

KENRICK: Commentary on the Entire Bible.

MCEVILLY: An Exposition of the Epistles of St. Paul and the Catholic Epistles (2 vols., 1875); An Exposition of the Gospels (3 vols., 1888, sq.).

MAAS: Christ in Type and Prophecy (2 vols., 1893); On St. Matthew (1898).

H. J. COLERIDGE: Works on the Life of Christ.

JOS. RICKABY: Notes on St. Paul (Corinthians; Galat.; Rom., 1898).

BERN. WARD: St. Luke, (1897); one of the volumes of St. Edmund's College Series of Scripture Handbooks.

IV. IN LATIN:

SCRIPTURÆ SACRÆ CURSUS COMPLETUS, auctoribus R. CORNELY, G. KNABENBAUER, Fr. DE HUMMELAUER, aliisque Societatis Jesu presbyteris. A Commentary on the whole Bible, not yet completed.

BEELEN: In Philip., In Rom. (1852–1854); In Acta Apostolorum (1850).

CORLUY: Comm. in Evangelium S. Joannis (1878); Spicilegium Dogmatico-Biblicum (2 vols., 1884).

KAULEN: Liber Jonæ prophetæ (1862).

NICKES: De Libro Judithæ (1854); De Libro Estheræ (1856).

PATRIZI (Card.): De Evangeliis (1853); In Acta Comm. (1867).

VAN STEENKISTE: In Librum Psalmorum (3 vols., 1870); In Evangel. S. Matt. (4 vols., 1876); In S. Pauli Epistolas (2 vols, 4th. edit., 1886); In Catholicas Epistolas,

PART FOURTH.

BIBLICAL INSPIRATION.

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER XX.

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CHAPTER XX.

HISTORY OF THE DOCTRINE OF BIBLICAL INSPIRATION.

§ 1. *Introductory Remarks.*

1. **General Notion of Inspiration** (*its difference from Revelation*). The word "inspiration," like many other theological terms, is derived from the Latin Vulgate, which uses the expression "divinitus *inspirata*"—a literal rendering of the Greek word *θεόπνευστος* in a passage where St. Paul describes the action of God in the composition of Scripture.[1] It conveys the general idea of a divine "breathing into" (*spirare*, in) the sacred writers, somewhat analogous to the action by which God is represented as breathing man's soul into his body (Gen. ii. 7; Wisdom xv. 11), and as "giving understanding" to men (Job xxxii. 8). It does not necessarily imply the communication of a permanent divine gift, but rather suggests a transient influence by virtue of which works so written may rightly be called "the oracles of God."[2]

The same general notion of Inspiration is plainly suggested by another passage, in the rendering of which the Latin Version uses also the participial form of the verb "inspirare." It is in the Second Epistle of St. Peter (i, 21), where we read: "Spiritu sancto *inspirati* (*ὑπὸ Πνεύματος ἁγίου φερόμενοι*), locuti sunt sancti Dei homines." We learn distinctly here that the holy men of God, i. e., the Old Testament prophets, spoke as the result of a divine "afflatus." They were borne along as a ship is carried by a strong wind, by a power which was no other than that of the Holy Ghost, so that their words were truly "divinitus inspirata."[1] We learn, moreover, particularly from the context, that, according to St. Peter, the positive divine influence which we call inspiration, and which was exercised upon special men, had for its purpose to enable them to transmit their knowledge to others. This is, in fact, the main feature which distinguishes the supernatural gift of inspiration from that of Revelation. By Revelation is understood a direct communication from God to man, either of such knowledge as man could not of himself attain to, because its subject-matter transcends human sagacity or human reason (such, for example, as the prophetical announcements of the future, the mysteries of the Christian faith, etc.), or, which (although it might be attained in the ordinary way) was not, in point of fact known to the person who received the Revelation. By inspiration, on the other hand, is meant that actuating energy of the Holy Spirit, by the influence of which men especially selected by God proclaimed His will by word of mouth, or committed to writing the various portions of the Bible. "It is quite true," according to the judicious words of the translators of SCHANZ's *Christian Apology*, "that, in a general sense, the recipients of Revelation and the message they receive, may be, and are commonly said to be, inspired; but we must not lose sight of the fact that, in so calling them, we are prescinding from the specific concept of inspiration. An inspired book—for here we have to deal exclusively with books—means something else than a book containing divine Revelation, even though there be nothing in the book but what has been divinely revealed. The recipient of God's words might, of his own accord, write down, and that, too, most faithfully, the truths mysteriously communicated by God; and, inasmuch as such a record would contain divine truth, it would doubtless be a divine book; not for that, however, would the volume be inspired. For the inspiration of a book it is required that the divine message should have been given with a view to its subsequent transmission by writing. . . . Thus, inspiration does not directly and immediately fall upon the material contents, but on their formal enunciation in writing. In this view of the matter, it is quite plain that Revelation is not identical with inspiration, and that a book may contain revealed truth, while yet failing to be an inspired book."[1] "In many cases," as E. LÉVESQUE judiciously remarks, "a revelation will not be necessary to the sacred writer; he knows the things naturally, either as a witness, or by the affirmation of others, or by reliable documents; he needs only inspiration. . . . Revelation never constitutes inspiration: they are two things quite distinct, just like to receive truth and to transmit it."[2]

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[1] "Omnis Scriptura divinitus inspirata" (II Tim. iii, 16).

[2] Rom. iii, 2.

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[1] Cfr. T. G. ROOKE, Inspiration and other Lectures, p. 120, sq.; C. CHAUVIN, L'Inspiration des Divines Ecritures, p. 2, sq.

Biblical Inspiration must therefore be conceived as a divine and positive influence exerted upon special men for the purpose of transmitting truth by writing to their fellowmen. This is obviously only a general notion of Biblical Inspiration; but it is sufficient to enable the student to profit by the following brief sketch of the various conceptions held as to the nature of inspiration.

§ 2. *First Period: Biblical Inspiration before the Completion of the Bible.*

1. Statements of the Sacred Books. A careful examination of the Canonical Books of the Old Testament proves that they contain only a small number of statements which may be considered as bearing witness to their inspiration. Thus in the law of Moses there are only two statements, viz.: Exod. xvii, 14; and xxxiv, 27, wherein it is expressly said that the great lawgiver of Israel was directed by God to write parts of our Pentateuch. The other passages sometimes referred to in this connection are not to the point, inasmuch as they either state that Moses received mission to impart a divine message to Israel *by word of mouth* (cfr. Deuter. v, 31), or simply affirm that he wrote certain passages now found in our books of Moses (cfr. Exod. xxiv, 3, 4, 7; Numb. xxxiii, 2; Deuter. xxxi, 9, 22, 24): in neither does it appear that God gave him commission to write such passages for the instruction of others, as would be required to invest them with an inspired character.[1] In like manner, the few statements of the book of Josue (i, 7, 8; viii, 31; xxxiv, 26), which refer to the writings of Moses or to those of his successor in command, as they do not mention this divine commission to write, should not be considered as bearing direct witness to their inspiration.

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[1] Preface to English translation of vol. ii, pp. vi, vii.

[2] E. LÉVESQUE, Essai sur la Nature de l'Inspiration des Livres Saints, p. 5 (p. 7 in the Engl. Transl.).

It is only when one comes to the writings of the greater and the smaller prophets, that he meets again with explicit declarations that "men of God" received from Him the express command to record their message to Israel (cfr. for example Isai. viii, 1; xxx, 8; Jerem. xxxvi, 1–4; 27, 28, 32; Ezech. xxiv, 1, 2; Habac. ii, 2). These and other such passages testify in favor only of the inspired character of those portions of the prophetical writings to which they refer, and the same must probably be said of Isai. xxxiv, 16, where we find the expression "the book of Yahweh:" in this, as in the other passages just mentioned, not an entire book, but only a relatively short section of a prophetical writing is apparently referred to. The case is different with Daniel ix, 2, where we are told that the prophet " understood by the books the number of the years, concerning which the word of Yahweh came to Jeremias, . . . that seventy years should be accomplished of the desolation of Jerusalem." At the time when the prophecy of Daniel was composed, the expression " the books " was already applied to writings whose inspired character was universally admitted, and in this particular passage (Daniel ix, 2), it most likely designates the Books of Moses.[1]

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[1] Cfr. DIXON, A General Introduction to the Sacred Scriptures, p. 24 (Baltimore, 1853).

If we leave aside, as too indirect, the passages of Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom which have sometimes been pointed out as affirming the inspired character of the Old Testament,[2] there remains only one scriptural statement to be mentioned in that connection. It is found in the Second Book of the Machabees (viii, 23), where the expression "the Sacred Book," points, no doubt, to a general belief of the time—clearly shared in by the sacred writer—that the book thus referred to is really inspired.

In the writings of the New Testament, as in those of the Old, there are but few explicit testimonies to the inspired character of the books of the old Covenant. One of these is contained in the Gospels, viz.: in St. Matt. xxii, 43, where Jesus says of David that he spoke "in spirit" (cfr. the parallel expression in St. Mark xii, 36 " David saith by the Holy Ghost"). Another testimony is supplied by St. Paul, in his Second Epistle to Timothy (iii, 16), when he writes: " All Scripture inspired of God is profitable to teach," etc.;[3] and this second testimony has the advantage over the one just mentioned, that it affirms the divine origin of the Canonical Books of the Old Testament generally. In like manner St. Peter, both in his second epistle (i, 20, sq.), and in his second public discourse (Acts iii, 18–24) bears distinct witness to the divine influence by means of which the sacred writers of the Old Dispensation composed their works. These various texts will be examined more at length in the sequel.

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[1] Cfr. A. A. BEVAN, A Short Commentary on the Book of Daniel, pp. 145, sq.; 149.

[2] Cfr. W. LEE, The Inspiration of Holy Scripture, p. 62, sq.

[3] The phrase may also be rendered: " All Scripture is inspired of God *and* profitable. . . ." *And* is wanting in the Vulgate.

The foregoing are not, however, the only valid testimonies which the writings of the New Testament contain in favor of the inspiration of those of the Old. In view of the fact stated above, to wit: that the expressions "the Books," "the Sacred Book," etc., were currently used among the Jews to denote the supernatural origin of their canonical writings, it may readily be admitted that the similar expressions, such as "Holy Scripture," "the Scripture," "the written Word,"[1] which the New Testament employs in speaking of the same writings, have not a different meaning, and therefore tell in favor of the inspired character of the Canonical Books of the Old Testament. This inference appears all the stronger because Our Lord Himself refers to Moses and the prophets without distinguishing God's Word from the writer's, saying, "It is written;" "the Scripture says," etc.; and also because the New Testament writers do so after the example of their divine Master.

"Of its own inspiration, the New Testament naturally contains no direct proof, unless the beginning of the Apocalypse is a case in point.[2] If I Tim. v, 18 were a quotation of St. Luke, it would put his Gospel on a level with the Old Testament. But, as the passage contains a previous quotation from the Old Testament, there is still room for doubt. . . . St. Paul's occasional reference to the Spirit of God which he claims to possess, is not made for the purpose of proving that his letters were inspired, but in order to claim divine authority for his Apostolic action generally: 'I think that I also have the Spirit of God,' (I Cor. vii, 40) he says; and he speaks of himself as one having obtained mercy to be faithful (ibid. vii, 25). In the introduction of the Epistle to the Galatians he appeals to the divine origin of his Gospel. Now this Gospel was first and chiefly his oral preaching to the heathen. . . . St. Peter (Second Epist. iii, 15, 16), too, places the epistles of Paul on a level with 'the other Scriptures,' and says that Paul 'according to the wisdom given him, hath written to you.'"[1]

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[1] Cfr. Rom. i, 2; iv, 3; ix, 17; Galat. iii, 8, 22; II Tim. iii, 15; Acts i, 16; iv, 25, etc., etc.

[2] "The Revelation of Jesus Christ which God gave unto him, to make known to His servants . . . and signified, sending by His angel, to His servant John" (Apoc. i, 1).

It should be noticed at the end of this rapid survey of the scriptural statements in favor of the inspired character of our Canonical Books, that none of the sacred writers professes at any time to be distinctly conscious of his own inspiration.

2. Opinions of Jewish Rabbis concerning Biblical Inspiration. The foregoing exposition of the testimonies which the writers of the Bible give directly to its inspiration, is in harmony with the manner in which Jewish tradition speaks of the Canonical Books of the Old Testament. The first trace of this tradition is found in a letter of the Babylonian exiles which the book of Baruch has preserved to us, and in which Moses is represented as receiving a divine command to "write the law" of Jehovah.[2] In another letter, that of the high priest Jonathan to the Lacedemonians, the several books of the Canon of the Old Testament are called "the Holy Books,"[3] an expression "characteristic of the tone of thought which marks the Judaism of this period, which founded its high esteem for the Canonical Scriptures upon their holiness, their divine origin, their inspiration."[1] Together with this formula "the Holy Books," Philo, the celebrated Alexandrian Jew (about 20 B.C. to 40 A.D.), uses such expressions as "the Holy Scriptures," "the Holy Writings," "the Divine Word," "the Inspired Oracle," "the Holy Oracles the most trustful witnesses;" etc., etc., all clearly indicative of the sacred and inspired character which he, and his contemporaries, ascribed to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament.[2] Philo goes even farther and gives a theory of inspiration, in which he uses the reflections of Plato upon the pagan inspiration or *μανία* to illustrate the Jewish doctrine. According to him, inspiration is a kind of "ecstasy," and the greater the degree of inspiration with which one is favored, the greater also the unconsciousness or at least the passivity of the man inspired. "The prophet," he says, "does not speak any words of his own, he is only the instrument of God, who inspires and who speaks through him."[3] Yet Philo admits degrees of inspiration, assigns to Moses the first place in the scale of inspired writers, and thinks that the very words of the Old Testament are inspired of God.[4]

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[1] P. Schanz, A Christian Apology, vol. iii, p. 407, sq. (Eng. Transl., 2d edit.). Cfr George T. Ladd, The Doctrine of Sacred Scripture, vol. i, p. 210, sq.

[2] Baruch ii, 28.

[3] This letter is given in I Maçhab. xii, 5, sqq.

The positions of Josephus regarding the authority of the Old Testament and the nature of the divine influence which actuated the prophets, coincide with those of Philo. Josephus speaks of Moses as a prophet so exalted, that his words should be considered as those of God.[5] He says that "they are only prophets who have written the original and earliest accounts of things as they learned them of God Himself by inspiration. . . ." He then goes on telling of the twenty-two Jewish books "which are justly believed to be divine . . ." and of the attachment of all the Jews to their sacred writings: "how firmly," says he, "we have given credit to these books of our nation is evident by what we do. For during so many ages as have already passed, no one has been so bold as either to add anything to them, or to take anything from them, or to make any change in them; but it is become natural to all Jews, immediately, and from their birth, to esteem those books to contain divine doctrines, and to persist in them, and, if occasion be, willingly to die for them."[1]

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[1] HÄVERNICK, quoted by LEE, The Inspiration of Holy Scripture, p. 51, footn. 3.

[2] The references to Philo's works are found in H. E. RYLE, Philo and Holy Scripture, p. xvi.

[3] De Specialibus Legibus, § 8.

[4] Cfr. Vita Moysis, Book ii, § 7.

[5] Antiq. of the Jews, Book iv, chap. viii, § 49.

It is beyond doubt that these views of Josephus concerning the inspired character of the Canonical Books of the Old Testament, though expressed in a popular and "Grecianized" form, were substantially those admitted by the rabbis of his time and by his countrymen generally.[2] "That the rabbis entertained the same views of inspiration, appears not only from the distinctive name of 'Holy Writings' given by them to the Scriptures, but also from the directions that their touch defiled the hands,"[3] so that they may not be touched inconsiderately, but with religious awe. The whole Pentateuch was especially regarded as dictated by God, and even the last eight verses of Deuteronomy, in which the death of Moses is recorded, were said to have been written by Moses himself by means of divine Revelation. All the other books were, however, cited with the same formula as "the Law" itself, and were considered as truly inspired.[4]

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[1] Against Apion, §§ 7, 8. Like Philo, Josephus affirms that the prophets were unconscious and passive vehicles of the divine message (Antiq. of the Jews, Book iv, chap. vi, § 5; etc.).

[2] Cfr. the peculiar expressions of the Sanhedrists in St. John ix, 28, 29; and the words of St. Paul to Timothy (Second Epist. iii, 15).

[3] A. EDERSHEIM, Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah, vol. ii, p. 685

[4] For details, see SCHÜRER, The Jewish People in the Time of Christ, Divis ii, vol. i, pp. 307–312 (Eng. Transl.).

Finally, that the notion of Biblical Inspiration implied in the eyes of the Jewish rabbis the inspiration of the very words of Holy Writ, is plain (1) from the fact that they drew arguments from single words of the canonical writings;[1] (2) from the agreement as to words which the Septuagint translators were said to have reached under divine guidance in rendering independently into Greek the sacred books of the Jews; (3) finally, from the manner in which the last chapter of the fourth book of Esdras represents this great scribe of Israel rewriting under God's dictation the twenty-four books of the Palestinian Canon.[2]

§ 3. *Second Period: Biblical Inspiration before the Rise of Protestantism.*

1. The Christian Writers of the First Two Centuries. The idea of inspiration, which we have thus far seen reflected in the sacred writings themselves and in Jewish tradition, was naturally adopted by the early converts to Christianity. On embracing the faith, men like Clement of Rome, Polycarp of Smyrna, Ignatius of Antioch, and the authors of the epistle ascribed to Barnabas and of the Pastor of Hermas, were taught by word of mouth, and by perusal of the Canonical Books, to look upon these same books as not simply containing revealed doctrine, but also as having been composed under the positive influence of God's Holy Spirit. This doctrine they readily admitted, and by reason of the special character of their own writings, which were practical and expository, they naturally did but re-echo what they had been taught regarding Biblical Inspiration, and did not offer any theory as to its intimate nature. In fact all their allusions to inspiration are incidental. Thus,

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[1] Cfr. St. Paul's argument in Galat. iii, 16.

[2] IV Esdras xiv, 19-47.

St. Clement of Rome quotes many passages from Scripture with the words: "for the Scripture saith;"[1] "by the testimony of Scripture;" "the Holy Spirit saith."[2] Again, he exhorts his readers to "look carefully into the Scriptures, which are the true utterances of the Holy Spirit."[3]

"The short and affecting epistle of Polycarp contains little which illustrates our subject, though he tells us, with touching humility, that 'neither he nor any like him is able to attain perfectly to the wisdom of the blessed and glorious Paul' (contrast II Pet. iii, 15, 16),[4] and seems for once to burn with the zeal of his master, when he declares that 'he is the first-born of Satan whoever perverts the oracles of the Lord. . . .'[5] The last quotation is valuable, for, when compared with passages of Clement (I Cor. liii, xix), it proves that the same term (*τὰ λόγια*) was used in quoting the Old and New Scriptures. Again, Polycarp writes:[6] 'that he trusts his hearers are well versed in the sacred writings,' alleging at the same time, Ps. iv, 4; Ephes. iv, 26."[7]

St. Ignatius, in his letter to the Magnesians,[8] speaks of "the divinest prophets who lived according to Jesus Christ . . . being inspired by His grace;" and in his epistle to the Philadelphians,[9] he says that "the beloved prophets announced Him (Christ); but the Gospel is the perfection of immortality."

More explicit than Ignatius is the author of the epistle ascribed to Barnabas. He uses such phrases as the following when quoting Holy Writ: "The Lord saith in the prophet" (Ps. xvii, 45); "the Spirit of the Lord proclaims"

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[1] I Cor. chaps. xxiii, xxxiv.

[2] Ibid., chaps. xiii, xvi.

[3] Ibid., chap. xlv.

[4] Polycarp, Epistle to the Philippians, chap. iii.

[5] Ibid., chap. vii.

[6] Ibid., chap. xii.

[7] Westcott, Introduction to the Study of the Gospels. Appendix B.

[8] Chap. viii.

[9] Chap. ix.

(Ps. xxxiii, 13).[1] He affirms that "Moses spoke in the Spirit:"[2] and he accordingly recognizes a spiritual meaning in many passages of "the Law" and the history of the Jews. In fact, it is impossible to read this epistle throughout, without feeling that its author is animated with a strong conviction that all the Canonical Scriptures are inspired.

Finally, "the Shepherd of Hermas evinces by its form and reception the belief of the primitive age in the nature and possibility of inspiration. . . . Its existence is a distinct proof of the early recognition of a prophetic power somewhere existent in the Church."[3]

When the Apostolic Fathers give way to the apologetical writers, opinions as to the nature of inspiration begin to appear. Thus St. Justin, the first of the apologists whose writings have come down to us, not only quotes Scripture in such singularly expressive manner as the "above-mentioned prophet and king (David) speaks thus by the spirit of prophecy;"[4] "the holy spirit of prophecy taught us this, telling us by Moses;"[5] "the prophet Isaias being divinely inspired by the same Spirit;"[6] etc., etc.; but he offers an explanation of the psychological process going on in the mind of the inspired writers. In his *First Apology*,[7] he says that "when you hear the utterances of the prophets spoken as it were personally, you must not suppose that they proceed from the men who are inspired, but from the divine Word who moves them." Elsewhere, viz., in his *Hortatory Address to the Greeks*,[8] he explains his theory more fully: "Neither by nature," says he, "nor by human thought can men recognize such great and divine truths, but by the gift which came down from above upon the holy men, who needed neither art of words, nor skill in captious and contentious speaking, but only to offer themselves in purity to the energy of the Divine Spirit, in order that the divine power of itself might reveal to us the knowledge of divine and heavenly things, acting on just men as a plectrum on a harp or lyre."

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[1] Epistle of Barnabas, chap. ix.

[2] Barnabas, chap. x.

[3] WESTCOTT, loc. cit.

[4] First Apology, chap. xl.

[5] Ibid., chap. xliv.

[6] Ibid., chap xxxv.

[7] Chap. xxxvi.

[8] Chap. viii. It must be said, however, that this work is not regarded by all as Justin's.

In like strain, another Christian apologist, Athenagoras (fl. 2d cent.), describes the Jewish prophets as men who, "while entranced and deprived of their natural powers of reason by the influence of the Divine Spirit, uttered that which was wrought in them, the Spirit using them as its instruments, as a flute-player breathes into a flute."[1] A little before, the same apologetical writer says, "we have witnesses of our creed, prophets who, inspired by the Spirit, have spoken of God and the things of God. And you will admit . . . that it would be irrational for us to cease to believe in the Spirit from God, who moved the mouths of the prophets like musical instruments, and to give heed to mere human opinions."

The last apologetical writer to be mentioned is St. Theophilus of Antioch, who, about the middle of the second century, addressed his admirable defence of Christianity to a heathen named Autolycus. According to him, "the contents of the Prophets and of the Gospels are found to be consistent, because all the writers spoke by the inspiration of the one Spirit of God."[3] In another passage, he speaks of "the words of the prophets as the words of God."[4] Again, he describes the gift of inspiration in about the same manner as Justin and Athenagoras, when he says:[5] "The men of

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[1] A Plea for the Christians, chap. viii.

[2] Ibid., chap. vii.

[3] Ad Autolycum, Book iii, chap. xii.

[4] Ibid., Book ii, chap. xxxiv (Cfr. also Book i, chap. xiv).

[5] Ibid., Book ii, chap. ix.

God, borne along by the Holy Spirit, and gifted with prophecy, having inspiration and wisdom from God, were taught of Him and became holy and just. Wherefore, also, they were deemed worthy to be made the instruments of God and receive the wisdom which cometh from Him, by which wisdom they spoke of the creation of the world and all other things. . . . And there was not one or two, but many, at various times and seasons among the Hebrews, and also among the Greeks there was the Sibyl."

It was only natural that men educated in the principles of heathen philosophy, such as the apologists just quoted, should, especially when writing controversial works against the heathen, apply their early belief about the pagan *μανία* to explain or define the Christian idea of inspiration. This is, in fact, suggested by the last words of Theophilus regarding the Sibyl of the Greeks, and by references of St. Justin to the Sibyl and Hystaspes (Cfr. *First Apology of Justin*, chaps. xx, xliv). It is highly probable, however, that their own theory as to the nature of Biblical Inspiration was directly borrowed from the tradition of the Jewish rabbis, and particularly from the works of the celebrated Alexandrian Jew, Philo, whose very expressions they reproduce.[1]

As belonging also to the second century we must mention St. Irenæus, the holy Bishop of Lyons, who clearly shows himself independent of Alexandrian influence.[2] He wrote not against pagan unbelievers, but against heretics, who, though rejecting many Catholic truths, still preserved a distinct belief in the inspiration of Holy Writ. This accounts, no doubt, for the fact that he never treats the topic, as we would say, *ex professo*, but simply refers occasionally to it. He maintains that "all who foretold the coming of Christ received their inspiration from the Son,"[1] and that "the Scriptures are indeed perfect, since they were uttered (*dictæ*) by the Word of God and His Spirit."[2] In one passage, he even tells us that Matthew might certainly have said, "Now the birth of *Jesus* was on this wise;" but the Holy Spirit, foreseeing the corrupters of the truth, and guarding by anticipation against their deceit, says by Matthew, "But the birth of *Christ* was on this wise."[3] Yet he admits that "from many instances, we may discover that the Apostle (St. Paul) frequently uses hyperbata on account of the rapidity of his sentences and of the vehemence of the spirit which is in him. . . ."[4] When these and other such passages of St. Irenæus are allowed their full weight, they seem to point to the two following conclusions: (1) he believes no less sincerely than the other Catholic writers of the second century in the inspiration of Holy Writ; (2) but more distinctly than they, he admits, together with this divine element, another, a human element, so to speak, which he recognizes particularly in connection with the epistles of St. Paul.

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[1] Compare in particular the expressions of St. Justin with those of Philo, when the latter describes the Hebrew prophet as one who "does not speak any words of his own, but is only an instrument of God, who inspires and who speaks through him."

[2] A similar independence of Irenæus of Alexandrian influence has been already noticed in connection with his manner of interpreting Holy Writ (cfr. chap. xviii, § 1).

2. Patristic Doctrine of Inspiration during the Following Centuries. As in the first two, so in the subsequent centuries, the Fathers and Doctors of the Church are unanimous in proclaiming the inspired character of the Canonical Scriptures. This is the case, for instance, with the Italian writers Caius (fl. 210),[5] Novatian (fl. 251),[6] and St. Hippolytus of Porto († 230);[1] and with the North African Latin writers, Tertullian († ab. 220),[2] and St. Cyprian († 258).[3]

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[1] Against Heresies, Book iv, chap. vii, § 2.

[2] Ibid., Book ii, chap. xxviii, § 2.

[3] Ibid., Book iii, chap. xvi, § 2.

[4] Ibid., Book iii, chap. vii, § 2.

[5] The testimony of Caius is given in EUSEBIUS, Ecclesiastical History, Book v, chap. xxviii.

[6] Cfr. his treatise On the Trinity, chap. xxviii.

The same must be said of the two great teachers of the Alexandrian school, Clement († ab. 220), and Origen († 254), who expressly maintained the inspiration of Holy Writ, despite the many difficulties which they met in their scientific study of the sacred text. It was their purpose to reconcile Greek culture with Christianity, and this led them to frame theories which exercised considerable influence during their lifetime and afterwards. The principal views of Clement in this connection may be briefly stated as follows: Although Greek philosophy and prophets may be traced back to God's providence in the world, yet they are very inferior to the Revelation and the prophets of Israel:[4] the former were but an indirect, the latter a direct preparation for Christ. God spoke to men in the Law, the Prophets and the Psalms, so that Holy Writ offers a secure basis to our faith: "Not one tittle of the Scriptures," says he, "shall pass without being fulfilled, for the mouth of the Lord, the Holy Spirit, spoke it."[5] Elsewhere, he affirms that "there is no discord between the Law and the Gospel, because they both proceed from one and the same author, God."[6] The divine influence which he recognizes as exerted upon the sacred writers, he considers as far different from the pagan ecstasis, for, according to him, the ecstatic state is the characteristic feature of false prophets.[1] Yet this same divine influence made "almost the whole of Scripture speak to us in an oracular language,"[2] the enigmatic sense of which should be investigated with humility, patience, and obedience to the tradition of the Church. Finally, he appeals to this inner allegorical meaning to vindicate the perpetual usefuless of many passages of the Holy Scriptures.

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[1] In his treatise On Christ and Antichrist (§ 2), Hippolytus says that the sacred writers "having been perfected by the spirit of prophecy . . . were brought into inner harmony, like instruments, and having the Word within them as a plectrum, were moved by Him and announced that which God wished. For they did not speak of their own power nor proclaim that which they wished themselves."

[2] In his Apology, chap. xxxix.

[3] Cfr. De Lapsis, §§ 7, 20 Epist. lviii, §§ 3, 5, 6, etc.

[4] Cfr. for inst.: Miscellanies, Book vi, chap. viii; Pædag., Book i, chap. xi.

[5] Exhortation to the Heathen, chap. ix.

[6] Miscellanies, Book ii, chap. xxiii.

The views of Clement were shared by his greatest pupil, Origen; with this difference, however, that the latter pushes them farther, with a view to solve the difficulties with which his personal study of the sacred text has made him acquainted. Like Clement, Origen professes his distinct belief in the inspired character of the whole Bible[3] and describes prophetical inspiration as something very different from heathen ecstasis: "We can show," says he, "from an examination of the Sacred Scriptures, that the Jewish prophets, who were enlightened as far as necessary for their prophetic work by the Spirit of God, were the first to enjoy the benefit of the inspiration; and by the contact—if I may so say,—of the Holy Spirit, they gained a keener and a clearer intuition of spiritual truth. . . . If, then, the Pythian priestess is beside herself when she prophesies, what spirit must that be that clouds and confuses her mind and other natural powers, unless it be akin to those demons which many Christians are wont to drive out?"[4] Like his teacher, he prizes equally all "the words of God," and admits "that we cannot say of the writings of the Holy Spirit that anything in them is otiose or superfluous, even if they seem to some obscure."[5] He declares also with Clement of Alexandria, that there is "no jot or tittle in the

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[1] Miscell., Book i, chap. xvii.

[2] Miscell., Book v, chap. vi.

[3] Cfr. De Principiis, Preface, § 4.

[4] Against Celsus, Book vii, chap. iv.

[5] Philocalia, chap. x. Cfr. also Comm. in Rom., Book i, chap. i.

Scriptures which does not work its own work, when men know how to employ it."[1]

It is precisely at this point that Origen takes leave of his great teacher. While Clement is satisfied with showing in a practical manner how the typical sense of Holy Writ enables the Christian interpreter to vindicate the truth or the usefulness of scriptural statements concerning things that belong to the past,[2] Origen wants to make of allegorical interpretation a universal principle of solution for difficulties connected with the Holy Scriptures. For this purpose, he constantly emphasizes what seems to him self-contradictory, unworthy of God, etc., in the sacred writings, and infers from it the necessity to have recourse to the allegorical meaning.[3] In particular, he argues vigorously that this allegorical sense is the only possible solution of the many discrepancies of the Evangelists: "If one," says he, "were to set them all forth, then would he turn dizzy, and either desist from trying to establish all the Gospels in truth and attach himself to one, . . . or, admitting the four, grant that their truth does not lie in their corporeal forms" (that is, in their literal or historical sense).[4]

Differently, also, from Clement of Alexandria, Origen ascribed the peculiarities of style in the New Testament writings and their linguistic defects to the natural traits of their respective authors.[5] Had he gone no further, he would practically have adopted a view which we have already seen admitted by St. Irenæus. But this recognition of a human element in the composition of the Apostolic writings soon led him to maintain a difference in the degree of inspiration among the sacred writers. He held that the inspiration of the Apostles was not the same as that of the prophets, and that in the writings of the former there are many passages the tenor of which excludes an immediate influence on the part of God.[1] Yet he always distinctly affirmed that the New Testament writers were shielded from every kind of error.[2]

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[1] Philocalia, chap. ii.

[2] CLEMENT: Miscellanies, Book ii, chap. xvi; Book v, chap. vi, etc.

[3] Cfr. Origen; In Exod., Homil. ii; In Josue, Homil. ix, etc., etc.

[4] Comm. in Joan., tom. x.

[5] Cfr. Pref. to Comm. on Romans. In his Homily xiii on St. John, he says: "Joannes, ceu sermone rudis, obscure scripsit quod mente conceperat."

Despite the genius and vast learning of Origen, and the number of his devoted friends and admirers, his innovations were bound to evoke opposition even among some who held him most in reverence. This opposition gradually centred in the Antiochian school, which strenuously fought against the extreme allegorism of the great Alexandrian teacher. Yet even that school underwent the influence of his views concerning inspiration. As on the one hand, its various members looked upon the literal sense of the Holy Scriptures as the meaning directly and primarily intended by God, and as on the other hand they could not but feel the force of the difficulties which Origen had accumulated against it,[3] they were led to admit conclusions from which they would have instinctively shrunk otherwise. This accounts to a large extent for the fact that the most illustrious writer among them, St. John Chrysostom, though speaking of the mouth of the prophets as the mouth of God, and of the words of the Apostles as the words of the Holy Ghost,[4] adopts, nevertheless, such views as the following: (1) the Gospel narratives disagree in details of minor importance, and this disagreement is a proof of the reliability of the Evangelists, inasmuch as if they all perfectly agreed in everything, adversaries could suspect them of collusion ; [1] (2) "occasionally St. Paul speaks in a manner which is human, and he does not always enjoy grace, but is allowed to set forth something of his own." *Πάλιν ἀνθρωπίνως διαλέγεται, καὶ οὐ πανταχοῦ τῆς χάριτος ἀπολαύει, ἀλλά καὶ παρ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ τι συγχωρεῖται εἰσφέρειν.*) [2]

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[1] Pref. to Comm. on St. John, § 5.

[2] On St. Luke, Homil. xvii; on Jerem., Homil. xxi.

[3] It is this force of Origen's difficulties against the historical sense which induced St. Ambrose to say: "Ostendit hic locus, quæ propter fragilitatem humanam scripta sunt, non a Deo scripta" (On St. Luke, Book viii, §§ 7, 8).

[4] Homil. xix, in Act. Apost.; Homil. i, in Joann.; Homil. in I Tim. v, 23.

Views similar to those of St. Chrysostom were probably held by Theodore of Mopsuestia, who assumed two degrees of inspiration, and denied the gift of prophecy to Solomon ; [3] by Junilius Africanus, who closely followed Theodore's opinions in biblical matters ; and in a somewhat modified form by Theodoret, the erudite Bishop of Cyrus, who considered it an idle question to ask who was the human author of the Psalms,[4] and deemed it much more important to seek the sense of Holy Writ than to cling to its letter.[5]

But beside these and other writers,—such as St. Methodius, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, St. Epiphanius of Salamis,—who belonged to the Antiochian school, several other Fathers show clearly the influence of that great school. Among these may be mentioned the Alexandrian scholars, Didymus and St. Cyril, and in a particular manner, the illustrious Cappadocian writer, St. Basil of Cæsarea. In various places, the last-named Father refers indeed the style and words of the sacred books to the influence of the Holy Spirit. Yet in his *Treatise against Eunomius*, he lays it down as a proof of the divinity of the Holy Ghost, that He differs from "the sacred writers who sometimes speak of themselves (i. e., their own thought), sometimes express what God inspires them with."[1]

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[1] Homil. i, in Matt., § 2. He distinctly observes that there is not the least disagreement among them, when there is question of important points "in rebus præcipuis, quæ ad vitam nostram et ad prædicationem tuendam pertinent. . . . Quænam autam præcipua sunt? Deum hominem factum esse, miracula edidisse, crucifixum et sepultum fuisse resurrexisse. . . ."

[2] Homil. xlix on the Acts of the Apostles, § 1.

[3] It was on that account that Theodore was condemned by the Second General Council of Constantinople (553 A.D.). Cfr. P. DAUSCH, Die Schriftinspiration, p. 65, sq.

[4] Preface to Comm. on Psalms : "Quid enim mea refert, sive hujus (Davidis) omnes, sive illorum aliqui sint, cum constet divini spiritus afflatu universos esse conscriptos ?"

[5] Quæst. xxxix in Genesim.

Belonging to neither of the two great schools of Alexandria and Antioch, yet influenced by both, stands St. Jerome, the greatest biblical scholar of the Western Church. The influence of Origen and his school may be seen from the manner in which Jerome speaks of the words, syllables, and other minute details of the sacred text, "Singuli sermones, syllabæ, apices, puncta in Scripturis Sanctis plena sunt sensibus, et spirant cælestia sacramenta," and also from his allegorical interpretation of many passages of the Holy Scriptures.[2] Greater, however, was the influence which the Antiochian school exercised upon the solitary of Bethlehem. Thus he declares himself in favor of the historico-grammatical method of interpretation,[3] and recognizes openly the characteristic literary features and other peculiarities of the sacred writers.[4] If he belonged to the Antiochian school he would hardly speak more freely of Biblical Inspiration than he does in the following passages: "Multa in Scripturis dicuntur, juxta opinionem illius temporis, quo gesta referun-

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[1] "Hoc namque vere ostendit Spiritum non esse creaturam, quoniam rationalis omnis creatura modo a seipsa loquitur, modo ea quæ Dei sunt, ut cum dicit Paulus: De virginibus autem præceptum Domini non habeo; consilium tamen do tanquam misericordiam consecutus a Domino. At iis qui matrimonio juncti sunt præcipio ego, non Dominus . . . Spiritus autem non sic. Non enim modo sua, modo quæ Dei sunt, loquitur; id enim pertinet ad creaturam" (Adv. Eunomium, Book v, § 3d before the end).

[2] Cfr. for instance, Epist. lii, ad Nepotianum, §§ 2–4.

[3] "Alii syllabas aucupentur et litteras, tu quære sententias. . . . Obtrectatores mei quærant et intelligant non verba in Scriptura consideranda sed sensus" (Epist. lvii, ad Pammachium, §§ 6, 10).

[4] Of Isaias he says: "De Isaia sciendum quod in sermone suo disertus sit: quippe ut vir nobilis et urbanæ eloquentiæ, nec habens quidquam in eloquio rusticitatis admistum" (Pref. to Isaias, Migne, vol. xxviii, col. 771). "Jeremias propheta . . . sermone quidem apud Hebræos Isaia et Osee et quibusdam aliis prophetis videtur esse rusticior. . . . Porro simplicitas eloquii, de loco ei in quo natus est accidit" (Pref. to Jeremias, Migne, ibid., col. 847). Of St. Paul he writes: "Divinorum sensuum majestatem digno non poterat Græci eloquii explicare sermone. Habebat ergo Titum interpretem: sicut, et beatus Petrus Marcum, cujus Evangelium, Petro narrante, et illo scribente compositum est. Denique et duæ epistolæ feruntur Petri, stylo inter se et charactere discrepant. . . ." (Epist. CXX, ad Hedibiam, Migne, vol. xxii, col. 1002).

tur, et non juxta quod rei veritas continebat;"[1] "Reperi loca, in quibus scripta sunt quæ videntur facere quaestionem. Ac primo ætimabam indissolubilia esse, *sicut et multa sunt alia*."[2] Elsewhere he says: "Quid prodest hærere in littera, et vel scriptoris errorem vel annorum seriem calumniari, cum manifestissime scribatur: littera occidit, spiritus autem vivificat?"[3] In another passage,[4] he seems to admit with St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom, that St. Paul was allowed to give vent to a human feeling. Finally, in his commentary on the prophet Micheas (chap. v, verse 2) he relates without condemning the view of those who ascribe to failings of the memory of the Apostles or Evangelists, the changes even as to the sense which are observable between the passage in the Old Testament and the quotation made of it in the New.[5]

It was that freedom of St. Jerome in treating biblical statements, which led St. Augustine to write to him these significant words: "But I have learned to hold the books of the Canonical Scriptures in such reverence and high esteem as to firmly believe that no one of their authors has fallen into any error."[6] In point of fact, the illustrious Bishop of Hippo, in using these words, was but drawing a natural inference from his view that the Scriptures are "divine," "holy," a "chirographum Dei," "venerabilis stylus Spiritus Sancti," written by the members of Christ "dictante capite," "God speaking to them or through them," etc., etc.[7] In these, and in many other such statements, the holy Doctor seems to refer so entirely the writing of the sacred books to the divine action, that one is surprised when one finds him recognizing a large human element in the composition of the Holy Scriptures. "If any one," says he, "affirms that the Evangelists ought to have had that power imparted to them by the Holy Spirit which would insure them against all variations in words, arrangement, or figures given, that person fails to perceive that, just in proportion as the authority of the Evangelists is made pre-eminent, the credit of all other men who offer true statements of events ought to have been established on stronger basis by their instrumentality. For seeing how different witnesses may tell the same story, and deviate from one another in certain particulars, without being justly impeached for untruthfulness, they also are emboldened to tell the truth, being able to point to precedents set them by the Evangelists."[1] Elsewhere, he admits that the memory of St. Matthew supplied him wrongly with the name of Jeremias, in quoting a passage of Zachary, and explains how his error was allowed by the Holy Spirit.[2] The general "reason which he gives for the discrepancies found in Holy Writ, lies in the action of the writers, which action he allows to have been influenced by the scope and tendency of their writings."[3] Thus he says: "Ut quisque meminerat, et ut cuique cordi erat vel brevius vel prolixius, eamdem tamen explicare sententiam, ita eos explicare manifestum est;"[4] and again in his Comm. on St. John,[5] he writes: "Audeo dicere forsitan nec ipse Joannes dixit, ut est, sed ut potuit, quia de Deo homo dixit. Et quidem inspiratus a Deo, sed tamen homo."

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[1] Comm in Jerem. Liber v, cap xxviii, vers. 10, 11. Migne, Patr. Lat., vol. xxiv, col. 855. It will be noticed that St. Jerome directly refers to *historical* statements in Holy Writ.

[2] Epist. to St. Damasus (Epist. xxxvi) § 10, Migne, P. L., vol. xxii, col. 456.

[3] Epist. to Vitalis (Epist. lxii) § 5, Migne, ibid., col. 676.

[4] Comment. in Galat., lib. iii, cap. v, verse 12 (Migne, vol. xxvi, col. 405).

[5] Comm. in Michæam, Migne, Patr. Lat., vol. xxv, col. 1197.

[6] Epist. lxxxii, chap. i, § 3 (Migne, vol. 33, col. 277). Cfr. Epist. lxxv, chap. iii, § 4 (Migne, ibid., col. 252).

[7] The references to St. Augustine's work will be found in DAUSCH, Schriftinspiration, p. 78.

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[1] De Consensu Evangelistarum, Book ii, § 28 (Migne, Patr. Lat., vol. xxxiv, col. 1091). The whole paragraph is most interesting.

[2] De Consensu Evangel., Book iii, chap. vii, pp. 29, 30 (Migne, ibid., cols. 1174, 1175). Cfr. also editorial note in Migne, P. L., vol. xxvi, col. 205, footn. c.

[3] P. SCHANZ, A Christian Apology, vol. ii, p. 425 (Engl. Transl. 2d edit.).

[4] Cfr. Migne, P. L., vol. xxxiv, col. 1090.

[5] In Joannem, Tract. 1, § 1.

It is in view of the two sets of passages from St. Augustine just referred to, that Prof. Schanz writes these significant words: "In his work on the Gospels, he puts forward two views of inspiration, so sharply antagonistic, that at first flush one suspects a contradiction lurking within. So much stress is laid on the divine influence, that human action seems almost effaced; on the other hand, the scope allowed to man's work is so wide, that we find ourselves on the borderland of inspiration. But St. Augustine pursues the same method both in this question, and in the question of grace and free will."[1]

3. The Middle Ages. As time went on, the difficulties raised or emphasized by Origen against the literal sense of Holy Writ gradually ceased to engage seriously the attention of Christian scholars, and the theories which the Antiochian or other Fathers had framed to meet them were proportionately forgotten. Thus, in the ninth century, we find but a single faint echo of them in a discussion between Agobard, Bishop of Lyons, and Frédégis, Abbot of Tours, concerning the literary imperfections of the sacred writers.[2] In like manner, in the tenth century, we meet only one reference to the ancient difficulties and theories, in the commentary of the Eastern writer, Euthymius Zigabenus, where we are reminded that the Evangelists having written long after the events, may have forgotten many things, and that such failings of memory may account for their discrepancies.[3]

It is not therefore surprising to find that, in the twelfth century, that is in the course of the Middle Ages, the ancient difficulties connected with the human element in the composition of the Canonical Books had been forgotten. The *Decretum Gratiani*, completed about the middle of that century, quotes only the passages of St. Augustine which contain the strongest expression of his belief in the absolute reliability of the Scriptures.[1] St. Anselm († 1109), and Peter Lombard († 1164) have no doubt about the full inspiration of Holy Writ, and St. Thomas Aquinas († 1274), though recognizing several degrees of prophetical Revelation, and distinguishing between the inspiration granted to the prophets and that bestowed upon the other sacred writers, admits that all the authors of the Canonical Books were favored with a divine illumination which preserved them from error, without, however, interfering with the normal use of their natural powers.[2] Similar views, though couched in less scientific terms, are found in the writings of St. Bonaventura († 1274), the greatest mystic of the Middle Ages. He calls Holy Scripture "the Heart," "the Mouth," "the Tongue," etc., "of God"; affirms that "we have received Holy Writ from the Father of light, through divine Revelation, not through human invention," and maintains that all the contents of the sacred books are useful, true, and reasonable.[3] In like manner, Hugo of St. Victor, another great mystical writer of that period, regards as not belonging to the Holy Scriptures "illæ in quibus veritas sine contagione erroris non percipitur," for, says he "nequaquam istæ divinitatis nomine censeri dignæ sunt." "Sola autem," he adds, "illa Scriptura jure divina appellatur quæ per Spiritum Dei aspirata est, et per eos qui Spiritu Dei locuti sunt, administrata."[4] It must be said, however, that Hugo of St. Victor seems to have confused this divine element in Holy Writ with the supernatural divine guidance enjoyed by saintly men here below, and to have admitted that the author of Ecclesiastes drew from his own resources.[1] More incorrect still than this opinion of Hugo of St. Victor, was that entertained by Abailard, when he affirmed that "the prophets and Apostles had many times mistaken their own conceptions for the voice of God, and wrongly considered themselves as inspired," quoting Galat. ii, 11, sqq. in support of his assertion. But the opinions of Abailard and Hugo of St. Victor were only their individual views, and the bulk of Christian scholars maintained unhesitatingly the divine character and absolute reliability of Holy Scripture, in the sense in which they were then embodied in the dogmatic formula: "Deus est auctor Scripturæ."[2] Whatever difficulties might have been suggested against these positions by the study of the literal sense, either escaped the attention of Catholic interpreters, or were easily bridged over by appeals to the typical or allegorical sense.[3]

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[1] A Christian Apology, p. 424. The general remarks of Schanz about the patristic views of inspiration, in the same volume (p. 427, sq.), are well worth reading.

[2] Cfr. MIGNE, P. L., vol. civ, col. 159, sqq.

[3] On St. Matt. xii, 8.

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[1] Migne, Patr. Lat., vol. clxxxvii, cols. 49, 50.

[2] Cfr. for instance, Summa Theolog., 2a 2æ, quæst. clxxi, art. i, ad 4um; art. v; quæst. clxxiv, art. ii, ad 3um; Questiones Disput., de Veritate, quæst. xii, art. vii, etc. (For a full study of St. Thomas's doctrine, see Dausch, Schriftinspiration, pp. 93-97.)

[3] Cfr. Dausch, loc. cit., p. 99.

[4] Migne, Patr. Lat., vol. clxxv, col. 10.

§ 4. *Third Period: Biblical Inspiration Since the Sixteenth Century.*

1. Outside the Church. As the Protestant Reformation was started on the basis of the supremacy of the sacred books, it might have been expected that its first leaders would hold the strictest views concerning Biblical Inspiration. In point of fact, the foremost among them,

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[1] Cfr. A. MIGNON, Les Origines de la Scolastique et Hugues de St. Victor, vol. i, p. 212; HAGENBACH, Hist. of Christian Doctrines, § 161.

[2] Cfr. DAUSCH, loc. cit., pp. 102–103.

[3] For the views of Jewish Rabbis regarding inspiration during the Middle Ages, see L. WOGUE, Histoire de la Bible et de l'Exégèse Biblique, pp. 208–296; Encyclopædia Britannica, art. Inspiration; DAUSCH, loc. cit., p. 104, sq., etc.

Luther, declares that he looks upon the Bible "as if God Himself spoke therein," that it is "a queen, alone worthy to issue orders to be obeyed by all," that "one of its letters or titles is worth far more than heaven and earth," that God spoke with an "audible voice" and the Holy Scriptures transmit and preserve His words, etc. Yet inconsistently with these statements, he freely charges the sacred writers with inaccurate statements, unsound reasonings, the use of imperfect materials, and even urges the authority of Christ against that of Holy Writ.[1] In a word, as is admitted by a recent Protestant writer: "Luther has no fixed theory of inspiration; if all his works suppose the inspiration of the sacred writings, all his conduct shows that he make himself the supreme judge of it."[2]

Zwingli and Calvin maintained as firmly as Luther the supremacy of the Bible, while also keeping a considerable freedom of thought as to its various parts. The former spoke of Holy Writ as "pelagus immensum et impermeabile, a nullo adhuc pro dignitate emensum," and yet affirmed that the inner word of God in our heart enables us to judge of the outward divine word in the Bible, and that this outward word is not free from errors in detail, though perfect in matters essential.[3] According to Calvin: "God Himself speaks in Scriptures, so that the doctrine therein contained is heavenly."[4] He nevertheless openly acknowledges inaccuracies of detail in the biblical narratives, and says that "they do not trouble him much."[5] He admits also "a wide difference" as regards the declaration of the power of

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[1] For references to the works of Luther cfr. F. LICHTENBERGER, Encyclopédie des Sciences Religieuses, vol. xii, art. Théopneustie; Edouard RABAUD, Histoire de la Doctrine de l'Inspiration, pp. 34-40. LADD, The Doctrine of Sacred Scripture, vol. ii, p. 165, sq.

[2] E. RABAUD, loc. cit., p. 42.

[3] Cfr. LICHTENBERGER, loc. cit., p. 106.

[4] Institutes of the Christian Religion, Book i, chap. vii, § 1.

[5] Comm. on Epist. to the Hebrews, xi, 21.

Christ between the fourth Gospel and the Synoptists, affirming that the latter have "but a few sparks of that great light which shines forth with such brilliancy in St. John."[1] In like manner, Carlstadt in his *Libellus de Canonicis Scripturis* recognizes the fallibility of the Bible, while maintaining the Protestant doctrine of the supremacy of Holy Writ, and the same general spirit prevails through the works of Melanchthon, Brenz, Bullinger, Bugenhagen, etc., and other immediate followers of the early reformers.

It must be granted that the position thus assumed by the founders of Protestantism was rather awkward, for there was an almost palpable inconsistency in asserting on the one hand that the Bible was the supreme rule of Christian belief, and on the other hand, that it contained errors. The awkwardness was apparently felt very early, for the earlier and greater of the Protestant *Symbols* speak of the inspiration of Holy Writ only in cautious and general terms, stating simply, that "all things necessary to salvation, both as regards faith and morals, may be derived from the Bible, and can be authoritatively derived only from this source."[2] But this awkwardness soon disappeared. For polemical purposes Protestant divines soon felt it necessary to oppose to the Catholic doctrine of an infallible Church, the claim of an infallible Bible, as a secure basis for their tenets. They, therefore, gave up the laxer views of inspiration which had been advanced by the early reformers, and were, in fact, gradually betrayed "into the farthest extreme of the pre-Christian theory"[3] of the Alexandrian Philo. At first, Flacius Illyricus († 1575), denied that the sacred narratives contained contradictions of detail. Next, Calovius († 1688), —the author of what is called the *Orthodox* Protestant theory of inspiration,—claimed that inspiration is the form which Revelation assumes, and that every statement of Holy Writ was divinely suggested and inspired.[1] Quenstedt († 1688), Baier († 1694), and Hollaz († 1713) went farther, and affirmed that the writers were dependent upon the Spirit for their very words, and that there are no solecisms in the Scripture. The Buxtorfs, Gerhard and Heidegger extended inspiration to the vowel-points of the Hebrew Text;[2] and Gisbert Voetius to the very punctuation. Moreover, while the idea of inspiration was thus gradually made to reach everything in the text, the sacred writers were proportionately reduced to passive instruments, to whom "nothing was left but mechanical activity in apprehending the words containing the matter, and in writing. Such overstraining of the divinity of the Holy Scriptures had for its obverse the denial of the inspiration of the *persons*, of the holy men themselves, to whom all productive power of their own was refused, and whose own knowledge of the contents they wrote down was regarded as a matter of indifference, if not as an actual source of danger to the pure divine character of the contents."[3]

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[1] Cfr. LICHTENBERGER, loc. cit., p. 105.

[2] See in SCHAFF, Creeds of Christendom, vol. iii, the *Gallic* Confession, art. 5; the *Belgic* Confession, art. 7; the *Scotch* Confession, art. 18; the *Westminster* Confession, chap. i, § 6; the *Thirty-nine Articles* of the Church of England, art. 6.

[3] I. A. DORNER, A System of Christian Doctrine, vol. ii, p. 187 (Engl. Transl., T. T. Clark, 1891).

Side by side with this, and opposed to it, ran a second current of Protestant thought likewise traceable to views entertained by the early reformers regarding inspiration. Their admission of errors in the sacred books was repeated by L. Socinus († 1562) and Castalio († 1563). It was also adopted by such Arminians as Episcopius († 1643), Grotius († 1645), and Clericus († 1736), and practically indorsed by the Pietist, J. Bengel († 1752) who exhorted Christians to feed on the bread of life (i.e. on Holy Writ) without bothering about some extraneous matter which may be mixed with the wheat. Meanwhile, Textual Criticism showed conclusively that the extreme conservative school was wrong in claiming an immediate divine origin for the Hebrew vowel-points, and for all the more or less irregular forms found in the Greek Text of the New Testament. The reaction thus set in against the strict views of inspiration, was powerfully helped along by the influence exerted upon the public mind by the works of the English deists, as well as by the rational methods advocated by Bacon, Descartes, and Wolf, and by the teaching of such men as Baumgarten († 1757) and Töllner († 1774), the great forerunners of Rationalism. Inspiration was indeed ascribed to Holy Writ by Baumgarten, but it was reduced to a minimum, "the Spirit having permitted each writer to compose according to the peculiar powers of his mind, and to arrange facts according to his own comprehension of mind."[1] Töllner went farther still, and admitted that some books were written without inspiration of any kind, and were only subsequently approved by divine sanction. In fact, he rejected altogether the inspired character of the historical writings of the Old Testament, and of the book of the Acts, and said that the Gospels of St. Luke and St. Mark were simply approved by the Apostles.[2]

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[1] This theory was embodied in the *Consensus Repetitus fidei veræ Lutheranæ.*

[2] This view was adopted in the *Formula Consensus Helvetici*, the text of which is found in HAGENBACH, History of Christian Doctrines, vol. iii, p. 61, sq. (Engl. Transl.).

[3] DORNER, loc. cit., p. 187.

Thus was the way paved for the publication of the *Wolfenbüttel Fragments*, in which Reimarus, their author, represents the Bible as abounding in errors as to matters of fact, and in statements at variance with human experience, reason and morality.[3] Thus, also, was the ground prepared for the scientific efforts of Semler to put on a solid basis the views of Rationalism which had long been everywhere, so to speak, in the air; and it must be said, that under his influence, the cause of Rationalism seemed practically won in Germany. "Some of his contemporaries who taught in other universities seized upon his tenets and began to propagate them vigorously. They made great capital out of them for themselves. Semler invaded and overthrew what was left of popular faith in inspiration after the efforts of Wolf, but here he stopped. His adherents and imitators commenced with his rejection of inspiration, and made it the preparatory step for their attempted annihilation of Revelation itself. Soon the theological press teemed with blasphemous publications against the Scriptures; and men of all the schools of learning gave themselves to the work of destruction. Göttingen, Jena, Helmstedt, and Frankfort-on-the-Oder were no longer schools of prophets, but of Rationalists and Illuminists." [1]

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[1] HURST, History of Rationalism, p. 112.

[2] HURST, loc. cit., p. 201, sq.

[3] The Wolfenbüttel Fragments were published by Lessing, only after the death of Reimarus.

Ever since Semler's time, the Rationalistic view which looks upon the Bible as a book merely human in its origin has been widely entertained by German scholars, in spite of the Creeds or Confessions of the sects to which they belonged, and the same holds good, though not to the same extent, as regards prominent Protestant writers of France, Great Britain, and America.

Thus, side by side with the old *Confessional* theory, or *Mechanical* or *Dictation* theory of inspiration,[2] which regards the sacred writers as hardly more than machines writing what was suggested to them by the Holy Spirit in the very act of writing, four principal theories, more or less Rationalistic in their tenor, are widely accepted in Protestant circles. The first, which may be called the theory of *Natural* inspiration, admits that there are errors of detail in the Canonical Books, and that strictly speaking, their authors should not be called inspired, except in the sense in which Milton, Shakespeare, Homer, Plato, Socrates, etc., can be looked upon as inspired. Christianity, according to them, is indeed *a* religion, but only *one* of the great religions of the world, which claim for themselves the authority of supernatural Revelation. The best-known partisans of this thorough-going Rationalistic view in the nineteenth century are Kuenen in Holland, Ewald in Germany, F. W. Newman in England, and Theodore Parker in America.

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[1] HURST, loc. cit., p. 137.

[2] Among the advocates of this theory may be mentioned Rob. Haldane († 1842), Gaussen († 1863), C. Hodge of Princeton († 1878), etc.

A second theory, which reminds one of the opinion advanced in the Middle Ages by Hugo of St. Victor, though it has more of a Rationalistic tinge about it, identifies the inspiration of Holy Writ with the illumination common to every believer. This is, in substance, the theory indorsed by Schleiermacher († 1834), Neander († 1850), Farrar, Maurice, and F. W. Robertson.

The third leading opinion, which bears the name of *Partial* inspiration theory, limits inspiration to certain parts of the Bible; either to the doctrine, or to special revelations, or to things naturally unknown to the writer, or to the ideas in general. This view held by Paley († 1805),[1] and Horne († 1862),[2] was regarded in 1863 by the British Privy Council as sufficiently in harmony with the XXXIX Articles of the Church of England. Its watchword is "the Bible *contains* the Word of God," as against the formula "the Bible *is* the Word of God." One of its best-known propounders in America is George T. Ladd, particularly in his work entitled *The Doctrine of Sacred Scriptures.*[3]

Lastly, the fourth opinion, which has been called the *Illumination* theory, maintains that the Bible is not equally inspired in all its parts, and that *four* degrees of divine influence at least should be recognized. These are called (1) Inspiration of *Direction;* (2) Inspiration of *Superintendency;* (3) Inspiration of *Elevation;* (4) Inspiration of *Suggestion*, according to the degree of illumination and guidance bestowed by God upon the sacred writers.[1] In the lower degrees, those who hold this view think there is ample room for imperfection and error. This is apparently the position assumed by Dorner († 1884) in Germany, and by Briggs, H. P. Smith, and other scholars recently tried for heresy by American Presbyteries.[2]

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[1] A View of Evidences of Christianity, Part iii, chap. iii.

[2] Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, vol. i, Appendix No. ii.

[3] Vol. i, pp. 454, 460.

2. Within the Catholic Church. While Protestant scholars, applying their great principle of *Private Judgment*, and following out the views of the early reformers, were led in large numbers to deny to the Bible all divine authority, Catholic writers, guided by the voice of tradition, always maintained the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. As already stated, the teaching of tradition had been embodied during the Middle Ages in the theological formula: "Deus est auctor Scripturæ," and it is this formula that "the Roman Church" solemnly made her own in the Council of Florence (in 1431), when she declared that "she believes most firmly . . . in one and the same God as the author of the Old and New Testaments . . . because the same Holy Spirit spoke through the holy men of both Testaments . . ."[3] It is true that in thus solemnly adopting it, the Church did not declare in what precise sense she understood it. Yet the meaning she then attached to it can hardly appear doubtful when we bear in mind that the universal belief at the time was in the inerrancy of Holy Writ, and that such

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[1] Cfr. HORNE, ibid.

[2] Cfr. R. F. WEIDNER, Theological Encyclopædia and Methodology, Part i, p. 251, sq. For an account of Protestant theories regarding inspiration in France, see E. RABAUD, Histoire de la Doctrine de l'Inspiration, chaps. vi, vii, viii.

[3] Decretum pro Jacobitis, sive Bulla Eugenii IV "Cantate Domino." Cfr. DENZINGER, Enchiridion Symbolorum et Definitionum, n. 600.

Pontiffs as John XXII and Clement VI had already declared themselves officially in favor of that belief.[1] As, however, on the one hand, the Council of Florence had not expressly defined the extent of inspiration, and as, on the other hand, the decree *pro Jacobitis*, had been apparently framed only for the instruction of those to whom it was directed, there were Catholic scholars who considered themselves free to admit the existence of minor errors in the sacred books, as several Fathers had done before. This was the case with Erasmus († 1536), who in his Commentary on St. Matthew (chap. ii), says in addition to a similar remark of St. Jerome: "It may be that the Evangelists did not extract their quotations directly from the sacred books, but trusted to their memory, and thus fell into error. Christ alone is called the Truth; He alone was free from all error." And in his answer to Eck, he writes: "Neque protinus meo judicio vacillet, ut tu scribis, totius auctoritas Scripturæ, sicubi memoria lapsus Evangelista, nomen ponat pro nomine: puta *Isaiam* pro *Jeremia* cum hinc cardo rei non pendeat. Ut enim non protinus de tota Petri vita male sentimus, quod Augustinus et Ambrosius affirment illum, et post acceptum cœlestem Spiritum, alicubi lapsum esse: ita non continuo fides abrogatur libro, qui nœvum aliquem habet . . ."[2] This was also the case with A. Pighius, S. J., who, in his *Assertio Ecclesiasticæ Hierarchiæ*, went so far as to say that "lapses of memory and false statements may be attributed to the Evangelists Matthew and John."[3]

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[1] One of the questions put to the patriarch of the Armenians by Clement VI, was "Si credidisti et adhuc credis, Novum et Vetus Testamentum in omnibus libris, quos Romanæ Ecclesiæ nobis tradidit auctoritas, veritatem indubiam per omnia continere" (Cfr. DAUSCH, loc. cit., p. 103).

[2] Cfr. TROCHON, Introduction Générale, p. 67, footn. 12.

[3] "Matthæus et Joannes evangelistæ potuerunt labi memoria et mentiri." (Assertio Eccl. Hier. I, 2 Cologne, 1538.) Likewise Bened. Pereira (Comm. in Rom.) and Gordon Huntläus (Controv. lib. iii, 4) are referred to by DAUSCH (loc. cit., p. 175, footn. 4), as denying the special inspiration of St. Luke.

The Catholic tradition regarding Biblical Inspiration was reaffirmed by the Council of Trent, in its "Decree Concerning the Canonical Scriptures" in the following terms: "The Synod, following the examples of the orthodox Fathers, receives and venerates with an equal feeling of piety and reverence, all the books both of the Old and of the New Testament—seeing that one God is the author of both. . . . But if any one receive not as sacred and canonical the said books entire with all their parts . . . let him be anathema."[1] It will easily be noticed that in this decree the point expressly defined is the *sacred* and *canonical* character of the books of Holy Writ, without it being said what is implied thereby, and that the formula of Florence bearing directly on their inspiration, is repeated without further explanation concerning the extent of Biblical Inspiration. This is why, even after the Council of Trent, numerous Catholic writers may be mentioned who, while maintaining the doctrine of the inspiration of the Bible, thought it allowable to restrict its extent in various ways.

It is true that immediately after the Council of Trent, theologians and commentators generally—among whom may be mentioned Salmeron († 1585),[2] Maldonatus († 1583),[3] Bannez († 1604),[4] Estius († 1613),[5] Suarez († 1617),[6] etc.,—maintained that the divine influence extended to the style and words employed by the sacred writers. But even before the end of the sixteenth century, somewhat freer views of inspiration began to be entertained by Catholic scholars. In 1585, the Jesuits Lessius and Hamelius (du Hamel), both professors in Louvain, set forth the three following

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[1] Session the Fourth, April 8th, 1546.

[2] Comment. Lib. i, Proleg. 26.

[3] In Evangel.. Preface, chap. ii.

[4] See his words quoted in DAUSCH, Schriftinspiration, p. 168, footn. 7.

[5] Comm. in divi Pauli Epistol., in II Tim. iii, 16.

[6] De Fide, disput. v. Sect. iii, n. 3.

propositions: (1) Ut aliquid sit Scriptura sacra, non est necessarium singula ejus verba inspirata esse a Spiritu Sancto; (2) Non est necessarium ut singulæ veritates et sententiæ sint immediate a Spiritu Sancto ipsi scriptori inspiratæ; (3) Liber aliquis, qualis est fortasse secundus Machabæorum, humana industria sine assistentia Spiritus Sancti scriptus, si Spiritus Sanctus postea testetur ibi nihil esse falsum, efficitur Scriptura sacra. In thus speaking, they went against the most common view of their time, and therefore naturally drew upon themselves the censure of the celebrated University of Louvain. As, however, the censure directed against them was not upheld either by the University of Paris or by the Roman authorities, the positions they had assumed—especially after the third proposition had been somewhat modified,[1]—rapidly gained ground, and were accepted not only by the Jesuits Bellarmin († 1621),[2] Mariana († 1623),[3] Bonfrère († 1642,)[4] and Cornelius a Lapide († 1657,)[5] but also by such independent scholars as Contenson († 1674),[6] Rich. Simon († 1712),[7] Ellies Dupin († 1719), Dom Calmet († 1757),[8] and in the nineteenth century, by Movers († 1856), Hanneberg († 1876),[9] and many others.

Two things in particular contributed to render these views of the Louvain professors acceptable to Catholic theologians and commentators. First, they were clearly in harmony with the teaching of tradition, inasmuch as they left untouched the fact of inspiration, and the inerrancy of Holy Writ; and secondly, in embodying the traditional teaching in a novel form, they presented it in terms which did away with the obvious difficulties connected with the old theory according to which the style and words of the sacred writers had been immediately inspired by the Holy Spirit. In so far, however, as they offered a new interpretation of the formula: "Deus est auctor Scripturæ," they may be considered as the starting-point of other constructions of a less guarded character, which were soon put upon the same formula. Thus in the middle of the seventeenth century, an English doctor of Sorbonne, Henry Holden († 1665), went so far as to maintain the following view: "Auxilium speciale divinitus præstitum auctori cujuslibet scripti, quod pro *verbo Dei* recipit Ecclesia, ad ea solummodo se porrigit, quæ vel sint pure doctrinalia, vel proximum aliquem aut necessarium habeant ad doctrinalia respectum. In iis vero quæ non sunt de instituto scriptoris, vel ad alia referuntur, eo tantum subsidio Deum illi adfuisse judicamus, quod piissimis ceteris auctoribus commune sit."[1] God is still, according to Holden, the author of Holy Writ, though He is not the author of all its parts in the same manner: in parts containing statements which may be matters of our faith, He granted a special help, which by its very nature preserved the writer from error; in other parts, the general influence which God exercises upon very pious authors, was deemed sufficient by Holden to make them "God's Word," though it did not necessarily imply the inerrancy of the writer. This was indeed a bold position to assume; yet since Holden distinctly affirmed the *de facto* inerrancy of the sacred writers,[2] his view though sharply criticised by many, was allowed to pass uncensured. The possibility of mistakes in

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[1] For details, cfr. TROCHON, Introduction Générale, pp. 64-67; DAUSCH, loc. cit., p. 146, sqq.

[2] De Verbo Dei, lib. i, chap. xv, ad 1um.

[3] Tractatus de Vulgata Editione.

[4] Prolegomena, viii, sect. i.

[5] In II Tim. iii, 16.

[6] Cfr. DAUSCH, loc. cit., p. 163, footn. 3.

[7] DAUSCH, ibid., p. 155, sqq.

[8] Dissertatio de divina Librorum Sacrorum inspiratione ad II Pet. i, 21; Comm. in Nov. Test. ad II Tim. iii, 16.

[9] Cfr. DAUSCH, loc. cit., pp. 157-159.

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[1] Divinæ fidei Analysis, lib. i, cap. v, lect. 1. (First edition appeared in 1652, Paris).

[2] Cfr. DAUSCH, loc. cit., p. 180, sq.

Holy Writ, which the English doctor had admitted with a view to answer more easily the difficulties raised against the Holy Scriptures, was adopted for the same reason by several prominent scholars after him. This was the case with Amort († 1775),[1] Feilmoser († 1831),[2] Chrismann († 1792),[3] and apparently also Archbishop Dixon († 1866),[4] and Fr. Matignon.[5]

The next step taken by several Catholic writers brought them back to the position which Erasmus, Pighius and others had assumed before the Council of Trent. In presence of the new difficulties, historical, geographical, scientific, etc., urged against statements found in the Bible, Frenchmen such as the Abbé Le Noir († 1860), and François Lenormant († 1883); Germans such as Langen, and Reusch, etc., were led to deny the infallible character of the biblical statements which have not an immediate bearing upon faith and morals. However venturesome, these views do not seem to have been expressly condemned by the Council of the Vatican, any more than those of Erasmus, Pighius, etc., had been by the Council of Trent. The Vatican decree concerning the inspiration of Holy Writ, reads as follows: "Si quis sacræ Scripturæ libros integros cum omnibus suis partibus, prout illos Sancta Tridentina Synodus recensuit, pro sacris et canonicis non susceperit, aut eos *divinitus inspiratos* esse negaverit, A.S."[6] This Canon repeats and confirms the decision of Trent regarding the "sacred and canonical character" of all the books of Holy Writ, and adds to it an explicit definition of their *divine*

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[1] Demonstratio Critica Religionis Christianæ, quæst. xix, quoted in DAUSCH, loc. cit., p. 182, footn. 1.

[2] Einleitung in die Bücher des N. Bundes.

[3] Regula Fidei Catholicæ.

[4] General Introduction to the Sacred Scriptures, vol. i, p. 27 (Baltimore, 1853).

[5] La Liberté de l'Esprit Humain dans la Foi Catholique (Paris, 1863).

[6] Concil. Vat. *Canones.* II. De Revelatione, Can. iv.

inspiration, against modern Rationalists. But it does not apparently condemn views of Catholic scholars as regards the extent of divine inspiration. The only pronouncement of the Vatican Council in this connection is found in the second chapter of the dogmatic Constitution "*Dei Filius*," which precedes the canons of the same Council, and in which it is declared that the books of the Old and New Testaments, as enumerated by the Council of Trent "are held by the Church as sacred and canonical, not because, having been carefully composed by mere human industry, they were afterwards approved by her authority, nor merely because they contain Revelation without any admixture of error, but because having been written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, they have God for their author, and have been delivered as such to the Church herself."[1] By this solemn declaration and by the addition of the words "eos divinitus inspiratos" to the Tridentine definition already quoted, the Vatican Council clearly rejected the opinion of "those who wished to derive the canonical character of certain books from the approbation of the Holy Spirit or of the Church, or discussed the probability of such canonization, e. g., in the second book of Machabees; or who considered freedom from error alone, without positive action, a sufficient test of canonicity. . . . But it lay outside the scope of the Council to determine *how* we are to conceive the inspiration in the Apostolic authors. Again the Vatican explanation does not determine by what way or criterion the Church came to know the inspiration of the several books."[2]

It is not therefore surprising to find that after, as before, the Vatican Council, Catholic scholars deemed themselves free to investigate the question as to the *extent* of Biblical Inspiration. In fact, as early as 1872, Rohling, in an article in *Natur und Offenbarung*, entitled *Die Inspiration der Bibel und ihre Bedeutung für die freie Forschung*, seemed to maintain that inspiration should be restricted to matters of faith and morals. Again in 1880, Fr. Lenormant, while professing "to be a thorough Christian," "to believe firmly in the inspiration of the sacred books and to subscribe with absolute submission to the doctrinal decisions of the Church in this respect," declares openly that "he knows that these decisions extend inspiration only to that which concerns religion, touching faith and practice. . . . In other matters, the human character of the writers of the Bible is fully evident. Each one of them has put his personal mark upon the style of his book. Where the physical sciences were concerned, they did not have exceptional light, they followed the common, and even the prejudiced, opinions of their age. 'The intention of Holy Scripture,' says Cardinal Baronius, 'is to teach us how to go to heaven, and not how the heavens go, still less how the things of earth go, and what vicissitudes follow one another here.' The Holy Spirit has not been concerned either with the revelation of scientific truths or with universal history." [1]

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[1] Here is the Latin Text of this declaration: "Eos vero Ecclesia pro sacris et canonicis habet, non ideo quod sola humana industria concinnati, sua deinde auctoritate sint approbati, nec ideo dumtaxat, quod revelationem sine errore contineant, sed propterea quod Spiritu Sancto inspirante conscripti, Deum habent auctorem, atque ut tales ipsi Ecclesiæ traditi sunt."

[2] SCHANZ, A Christian Apology, vol. ii, p. 439, sq.

Far more guarded in its expressions, and less venturesome in its positions, was the article [2] written by the late Card. Newman († 1890), the purpose of which was "to state what we (Catholics) really do hold as regards Holy Scripture, and what a Catholic is bound to believe." According to the learned Cardinal, "the Canonical Books cannot be regarded as inspired in every respect, unless we are bound

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[1] The Beginnings of History according to the Bible and the Traditions of Oriental Peoples, Preface, pp. ix, x (Eng. Transl.). The book is on the *Index*.

[2] This article appeared in The Nineteenth Century, for February, 1884.

de fide to believe that 'terra in æternum stat,' and that heaven is above us, and that there are no antipodes. And it seems unworthy of divine greatness, that the Almighty should in His revelation of Himself to us undertake mere secular duties, and assume the office of a narrator, as such, or an historian, or geographer, except so far as the secular matters bear directly upon the revealed truth. The Councils of Trent and the Vatican fulfil this anticipation; they tell us distinctly the object and the promise of Scripture Inspiration. They specify 'faith and moral conduct' as the drift of that teaching which has the guarantee of inspiration."[1] Again, he speaks of the solemn "duty" incumbent upon "the Catholic scholar or man of science . . . never to forget that what he is handling is the Word of God, which, by reason of the difficulty of always drawing the line between what is human and what is divine, cannot be put on the level of other books. . . ."[2] A little farther, he ascribes to the human writers, and not to God, the *obiter dicta* (i. e., unimportant statements, accessory details, etc.), as, for instance, what is said of the dog of Tobias,[3] St. Paul's *penula*,[4] and the salutations at the end of the epistles, remarking that neither Fr. Patrizi († 1881), nor Prof. Lamy dares to censure such a view.[5]

"This practical exception to the ideal continuity of inspiration," as Newman calls it, was admitted a few months later by an American writer, Fr. Walworth, in his article on *The Nature and Extent of Inspiration*,[6] and apparently also by Abbé de Broglie († 1895),[7] and by other Catholic scholars. "Even in many theological seminaries," writes *La Controverse*,[8] "students were taught as a probable theory that perhaps the historical books (Kings, Paralip., Judges, etc.), are inspired and free from error only in their dogmatic and moral parts."

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[1] The Nineteenth Century, loc. cit., p. 189.

[2] Ibid., p. 192.

[3] Tobias xii, 9.

[4] II Tim. iv, 13.

[5] The Nineteenth Century, loc. cit., p. 198.

[6] The Catholic World, Oct., 1884.

[7] Cfr. Dausch, Schriftinspiration, p. 177.

[8] Mars, 1886. La Controverse is one of the leading Catholic magazines of France.

Views of a similar kind were expressed by the Canon Salvatore di Bartolo, in his work, *I Criterî Teologici*, where, after distinguishing several degrees in Biblical Inspiration, he maintains that in passages which do not bear directly on faith or morals, or are not essentially connected therewith, divine inspiration exists only in an inferior degree which does not necessarily secure inerrancy.[1] This was done also by Jules Didiot, one of the best known professors of the Catholic Institute of Lille (France),[2] and finally, though not so freely, by Mgr. d'Hulst († 1896), the eminent Rector of the Catholic Institute of Paris.[3]

While these more or less extreme views were extensively circulated, almost all the leading theologians (such, for instance, as Franzelin († 1886), Fr. Schmid, Mazella, Berthier, Pesch, etc.), who treated of Scriptural Inspiration *ex professo*, and "from the safe harbor of dogmatic theology,"[4] endeavored to set forth a satisfactory analysis of the formulas used by the Vatican Council: "God is the author of Scripture," "Spiritu Sancto inspirante, conscripti sunt libri canonici." This led them to define inspiration as a "motio Dei in scriptorem sacrum qua Deus est proprie auctor libri sacri," and to consider it as implying three things: (1) a divine impulse prompting the author to write; (2) a special illumination imparted to his mind, and supplying not indeed the words, but the thoughts to be written down; (3) an assistance enabling the writer to set forth, only, but yet entirely, the divine message. Others, however, among whom may be mentioned Ch. de Smedt, S. J., and Corluy, S. J., though maintaining the complete inerrancy of Holy Writ, seemed at times inclined to make concessions to those who held a different view. The former quotes approvingly the words of St. Jerome we have already cited: "Multa in Scripturis Sanctis dicuntur juxta opinionem illius temporis quo gesta referuntur, et non juxta quod rei veritas continebat;"[1] the latter admits that St. Paul, writing under inspiration, "realized only imperfectly the thought of God, and hence intended to affirm in some passages of his epistles, that he and his readers would be really among the living" at the time of Christ's second coming.[2]

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[1] Cfr. Neuvième Critère, Seconde Proposition Négative, p. 251 (French Transl., Paris, 1889). The work is on the *Index*.

[2] Logique Surnaturelle Subjective, p. 103.

[3] "La Question Biblique," an article published in The Correspondant, January, 1893.

[4] "Vom sichern Port der Dogmatik" (DAUSCH, loc. cit., p. 178).

However this may be, it is at this juncture that the Holy See judged it advisable to reaffirm the traditional teaching of the Church regarding Biblical Inspiration. A few months after Mgr. d'Hulst's article mentioned above, Pope Leo XIII issued his Encyclical letter *Providentissimus Deus*,[3] on "The Study of Holy Scripture." In this remarkable document, the Sovereign Pontiff proclaims with St. Augustine that "the Holy Ghost who spoke by the sacred writers, did not intend to teach men these things (i. e., the intimate nature of things visible), things in no way profitable unto salvation,"[4] and with the Angelic Doctor, that the sacred writers "went by what sensibly appeared,"[5] or put down what God, speaking to men, signified in the way men could understand and were accustomed to.[6] Soon after these remarks, the Pope says: "hæc ipsa deinde ad cognatas disciplinas, ad historiam præsertim, juvabit transferri;" after which he proceeds solemnly to declare that "it is absolutely wrong either to narrow inspiration to certain parts of Holy Scripture, or to admit that the sacred writer has erred. For the system of those who, in order to rid themselves of these difficulties, do not hesitate to concede that divine inspiration regards the things of faith and morals, and nothing beyond, because—as they wrongly think—in a question of the truth or falsehood of a passage, we should consider not so much what God has said, as the reason and purpose for which He said it—this system cannot be tolerated. . . . So far is it from being possible that any error can co-exist with inspiration, that inspiration not only excludes every error, but excludes and rejects it as necessarily as it is impossible that God Himself, the supreme Truth, can be the author of any untruth (quam necessarium est Deum, summam Veritatem, nullius omnino erroris auctorem esse)."[1] A little farther still, the Holy Father describes inspiration as follows: "By supernatural power, He (the Holy Ghost) so moved and impelled them to write—He was so present to them—that the things which He ordered, and those only, they, first, rightly understood, them they willed faithfully to write down, and finally expressed in apt words and with infallible truth. Otherwise, it could not be said that He was the author of the entire Scripture. . . . Whence it follows that those who maintain that something false is found in any genuine passage of the sacred writings, either pervert the Catholic notion of inspiration, or make God Himself the author of such error."[2]

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[1] Principes de la Critique Historique (Liège, 1883).

[2] CORLUY, art. Fin du monde, in JAUGEY, Diction. Apologétique de la Foi Catholique, col. 1280.

[3] It is dated November 18th, 1893.

[4] De Genesi ad litteram, Book ii, chap. 9, n. 20.

[5] St. THOMAS, Summa Theolog., pars i, quæst. lxx, art. i, ad 3.

[6] Encyclical letter, Official Engl. Transl., pp. 36, 37.

As might well be expected, this authoritative pronouncement of the Roman Pontiff made Catholic scholars at large more careful and precise in their statements regarding the inspiration of the sacred books. They all profess to reject error from the inspired writings, and explain in different

[1] Encycl. Letter, ibid., p. 38, sq.

[2] Encycl. Letter, p. 40, sq.

ways how scientific and historical passages may be harmonized either with each other, or with extraneous sources of information. Most appeal to St. Jerome's and St. Thomas's view mentioned in the *Encyclical* itself, to show how many biblical statements, which, when taken absolutely, might be considered as erroneous, are really true, when viewed properly—that is, as couched not in scientific, but in popular language,[1] or as conforming to the opinions of the men for the immediate use of whom such inspired statements were intended. Others tell us that "when the sacred writers do not claim to write history or to write it as demanded by modern criticism, they cannot be accused of error if the representation does not correspond to the standard of severely historical science."[2] Others again bid us remember that the inspired books embodying traditions with their varying accounts of the details of one and the same fact, may be conceived as exhibiting a more accurate record of that event than others.[3] But in whatever way they manage to show the accuracy of Holy Scripture, they, each and all, profess their belief (1) in the inspiration of all the genuine parts of the Canonical Books; (2) in the inerrancy of the sacred writings; while almost all admit this notion of inspiration: "that God is the chief author (*auctor principalis*), and that the writers are the instrumental, though rational, authors (*auctores instrumentales*)."[4]

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[1] Cfr. for instance, Essai sur la Nature de l'Inspiration des Livres Saints, by E. Lévesque, p. 13, sqq. (p. 16, sqq. in Engl. Transl.).

[2] P. Schanz, quoted in Dublin Review, Oct., 1895, p. 296.

[3] "Quem eventum Matt. viii, 28–34, breviter narratum legimus in illa enumeratione miraculorum omnis generis qua Jesu potentiam nullis circumscribi limitibus docetur; quare Matthæus solum enarrat id quod ad miraculum spectat. Multo accuratius narrant alii duo (Synoptici). . . . Quæ omnia (all the differences the author points out) ex traditione facillime explicantur; aliter enim ab aliis idem eventus narrari solet" (Knabenbauer, S. J., Comm. in Evangelium secundum Lucam, p 289, Paris, 1896).

[4] Schanz, A Christian Apology, vol. ii, p. 440 (Engl. Transl., New York, 1896). Cfr. also the valuable articles of Father Lagrange, O. P., on Inspiration, in La Revue Biblique Internationale, for 1896, pp. 199–220; pp. 496–518; and the able work of Abbé Chauvin, L'Inspiration des Divines Ecritures, chap. vi.

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER XXI.

The Proofs of Biblical Inspiration.

- I. Arguments put forward by Protestants:
  - 1. Great importance for Protestants to prove the Inspiration of the Bible.
  - 2. Arguments drawn from
    - The inspiring and elevating character of Holy Writ.
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    - Its organic unity joined to the admittedly divine origin of many of its component parts.
  - 3. Appeals to the Authority
    - of Christ and the Apostles.
    - of the Early Church.
- II. Proofs set forth by Catholics:
  - 1. Grounds common to them and to Protestants:
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    - The human testimony of the Early Church.
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CHAPTER XXI.

THE PROOFS OF BIBLICAL INSPIRATION.

§ 1. *Arguments put forward by Protestants.*

1. Great Importance for Protestants to Prove the Inspiration of the Bible. Before proceeding to state the proofs upon which Catholics rest their belief in the inspired character of the Bible, it may not be amiss to explain and examine the position of Protestants in that regard. The importance of the question for the latter cannot be exaggerated.[1] Catholics build their faith primarily on the teaching of a living Church, whereas Protestants rest their whole belief on the written Word of God. They have, therefore, to establish by irresistible arguments the divine character of the sacred books of the Old and New Testaments. A difficult task, at which the ablest minds among them have assiduously labored, but with results far from satisfactory, as we shall see presently, and as, in fact, some of the most enlightened Protestants candidly confess. One of them,[2] in an inductive essay on Biblical Inspiration, writes pertinently: "The point which strikes us is that Christians are more certain that the Bible is inspired than they are of the grounds of their certainty.[3] . . . The belief may be well grounded, and yet no one who holds it may be adequately able to state the grounds, and all the statements put together and harmonized may still leave one in some astonishment how a conviction so sure and so momentous should rest upon so slender and wavering a foundation."

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[1] Cfr. R. S. Foster, The Supernatural Book, p. 34.

[2] Robert F. Horton, The Inspiration and the Bible, p. 5 (Seventh edit., London, 1896).

[3] This is indeed true of Protestants, but not of Catholics. Cfr. W. H. Mallock, The Intellectual Future of Catholicity, in The Nineteenth Century, for November, 1899.

In dealing with this topic, the interest of which has been revived by recent controversies among Protestants, we shall not come back on the altogether subjective criteria of inspiration, which were put forward by Luther, Calvin, and other early reformers, and which, as we stated in the History of the Canon, soon proved utterly useless in theory and in practice, as means to determine which books should be regarded as the Word of God. But we shall faithfully relate, in the words of their best exponents, the principal arguments advanced by contemporary Protestant scholars, and simply subjoin a few remarks concerning their respective proving force.

2. Critical Arguments put forward by Protestants. Of the many evidences which Protestants have of late set forth in favor of Biblical Inspiration, some have been called *critical*, because they are based exclusively on an examination of the phenomena exhibited by the sacred books themselves.

There is first of all the argument drawn from their *inspiring* and *elevating* character.

> "The whole drift of the Bible," writes H. Ward Beecher,[1] "is to be a practical book, —a book to teach men the highest way of life; to teach them how to live so as not to be degraded by their senses; so that they shall be able to meet the inequalities of life; so that it shall be possible for them to use the world without abusing it; to teach them how to live in this world so that they shall come to a higher and better one. If there ever was a book the aim of whose teaching was that the man of God

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[1] Bible Studies, chap. i, The Inspiration of the Bible, p. 14.

might be thoroughly furnished unto every good work, that book is the Bible."

This same characteristic of the sacred writings is no less beautifully described, while it is more directly presented as an argument to prove their inspiration, by James Paterson Smyth, another Protestant scholar, in the following terms:

"As my study of the Bible continues, there seems borne in on me the conviction that the Book has a mysterious power of rousing men to grander, nobler lives; that the study of it tends powerfully to deepen the sense of sin and arouse the desire of righteousness. . . .[1] Men feel by their own spiritual experience that the Book witnesses to itself. 'The Spirit itself beareth witness with their spirit' that the Book is the Book of God. . . . Its words have moved them deeply; it has helped them to be good; it has mastered their wills and gladdened their hearts till the overpowering conviction has forced itself upon them: Never book spake like this Book.

"Need I point you to the world around, to the miraculous power which is exercised by the Bible, to the evil lives reformed by it, to the noble, beautiful lives daily nourished by it? Did you ever hear of any other book of history, and poems, and memoirs, and letters that had this power to turn men towards nobleness and righteousness of life? Did you ever hear a man say, 'I was an outcast, and a reprobate, and a disgrace to all who loved me, till I began to read Scott's poems and Macaulay's History of England?' Did you ever hear a man tell of the peace and hope and power to conquer evil which he had won by an earnest study of the Latin classics?

"Well, you can get a great many to say it of the study of the Bible, ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands. You can see the amount of happiness and good that has come to the world even from the miserably imperfect following of it. You can see that the world would be a very paradise of God if it were thoroughly followed. . . . The Book whose tendency is thus to reproduce heaven we may fairly judge to be of heavenly birth. The Book whose beautiful ideals no man, no nation, has ever yet attained, is surely not of human growth." [1]

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[1] How God Inspired the Bible, p. 65.

To strengthen this argument, Protestant writers bid us contemplate the numerous beneficial effects of the Bible upon society at large: how it has been a powerful source of progress to those nations it has enlightened, guided and raised far above the great historical nations of heathendom, how much its doctrines and precepts, "resting upon the highest sanction and enforced by the strongest motives, have contributed to effect the regeneration of man, both individually and socially, their power under the agency of the Holy Spirit arising from their adaptation to meet our moral and spiritual wants;" [2] how "states cannot without Christianity accomplish their aim of securing consistently with the general welfare, the greatest amount of temporal good to each individual" . . . for "where the religion of Christ does not prevail, government generally becomes a system of organized oppression, . . ." [3] finally, "the most polished nations now in existence are indebted to it (the Bible) for the preservation and diffusion of literature and of the fine arts. It is interwoven with the finest productions of the human mind; it forms the inspiration of the loftiest poetry, and pervades the highest productions of genius." [4]

Such in mere outline is the argument drawn from the inspiring and elevating character of the inspired volume. It has been presented in very striking terms by some of the most eloquent Catholic and Protestant speakers and writers of the nineteenth century, and has no doubt contributed to confirm the belief in the divine character of the Bible in numerous souls which Rationalistic Criticism had caused to waver in their faith. Far, therefore, be it from us to treat it slightingly, to deny, for instance, the great beneficial effects conferred by the written Word of God upon mankind. Their importance and number and persistency are simply wonderful, and should always move us to return thanks to the divine goodness which bestowed such a constant source of blessings upon men at large. It seems, however, that in their desire to carry conviction into the minds of their hearers or readers, some Christian apologists have unwittingly advanced to prove the inspiration of the Bible from its elevating character, much which is due directly not to Holy Scripture, but to the preaching of the Christian religion, and consequently should be used rather as a proof of the divinity of Christianity than of that of its sacred records. This is the case, for instance, with the writer just quoted, who speaks "of the religion of Christ" as necessary to secure wise government, material progress, etc.[1]

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[1] How God Inspired the Bible, p. 37, sq.

[2] Chas. ELLIOTT, Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, p. 155.

[3] ELLIOTT, ibid., p. 159.

[4] ELLIOTT, ibid., p. 160, sq.

Nor do we intend to deny the inspiring and ennobling influence of Holy Writ upon individual souls by directing their attention to God, and the things of God, by supplying them with salutary warnings against evil, and sublime motives for well doing, yet it may be doubted whether this influence is so deep, so universal, so necessary, as to form a conclusive proof of the inspired character of *all* the Canonical Books. Even supposing that such would be the case in connection with the books of the New Testament, the Apocalypse itself included, it seems doubtful whether such a view could be held as to all the writings of the old Covenant, the Canticle of Canticles not excepted. Protestant readers of the Bible are oftentimes shocked by the perusal of the last-named book, and of not a few passages in other books, so that they are far from deriving from them the great spiritual benefit which would lead them to recognize, as it were, the breath of the Spirit of God in those writings. They continue, it is true, to regard them as inspired, but it is *in spite of* such an unfavorable impression, and because of a reason very different from the inspiring and elevating character of these parts of the Bible: they were formerly taught to look upon the whole Bible as the Word of God; they admitted this belief on the *authority* of their parents or teachers, and they now wish to persevere in their belief. In point of fact, not so very long ago, Goldwin Smith in his able article, entitled *Christianity's Millstone*,[1] simply voiced the sentiment of many no less sceptical but less outspoken Protestant scholars, as to the highly beneficial character of the writings of the Old Testament, when he advocated the giving up of the Old Testament bodily, as a burden too heavy for Christianity to carry.

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[1] Cfr. also R. S. FOSTER, Studies in Theology: The Supernatural Book, p. 29, sqq., etc.

A second argument—perhaps less subjective than the one just stated—in favor of the inspiration of the Bible, is based on the *superhuman structure* and *contents* of the sacred books.

"Other historians," we are told by HORNE,[2] "differ continually from each other; the errors of the first writers are constantly criticised and corrected by succeeding adventurers, and their mistakes are sure to meet with the same treatment from those who come after them. Nay, how often does it happen, that contemporary writers contradict each other in relating a fact which has happened in their own time, and within the sphere of their own knowledge? But in Scriptures there is no dissent or contradiction. They are not a book compiled by a single author, nor by many hands acting in confederacy in the same age; for in such case, there would be no difficulty in composing a consistent scheme, nor would it be astonishing to find the several parts in a just and close connection. But most of the writers of the Scriptures lived at very different times, and in distant places, through the long space of about sixty hundred years; so that there could be no confederacy or collusion, and yet their relations agree with, and mutually support each other. Not only human historians, but philosophers even of the same school, disagree concerning their tenets; whereas, the two Testaments, like the two cherubs (Exod. xxv, 20), look steadfastly towards each other, and towards the mercy-seat which they encompass. The holy writers, men of different education, faculties and occupations . . . notwithstanding the diversity of time and place, the variety of matter, . . . yet all concur in carrying on one consistent plan of supernatural doctrines; all propose the same invariable truth, flowing from the same fountain through different channels. Go, then, to the Sacred Scriptures, examine them closely and critically. Can you find *one* writer controverting the statements or opinions of his predecessor? One historian who disputes any fact which another had stated? Is there in the prophets any discrepancy in doctrines, precepts or predictions? However they vary in style, or manner of illustration, the sentiment and morality are the same. In their predictions they exceed one another in particularity and clearness, but where is there any contradiction? The same remarks apply to the New Testament. . . . Whence, then, arises this harmony of Scripture? Had the writers been under no peculiar influence, they would have reasoned and speculated like others, and their writings would have opposed each other. But if they were inspired,—if they all wrote and spoke under the influence of the same Spirit,—then is this harmony accounted for, and it is impossible to account for it upon any other principle. Hence we may conclude that all Scripture is not only genuine and authentic, but divinely inspired."

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[1] This article appeared in The North American Review, for December, 1895 (vol. 161, pp. 703-719).

[2] An Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, vol. i, p. 167, sq. (New York, Carter and Brothers, 1856).

In connection with this part of the second argument,—which has been put forward by several Protestant writers as a distinct argument in favor of Biblical Inspiration,—a few remarks may be made which go far to show how "this harmony and intimate connection subsisting between all the parts of Scripture" are not a conclusive proof "of its authority and divine original."[1] It seems, first of all, that the independence of the sacred writers of their predecessors or contemporaries, which is assumed by the defenders of the argument, is at times contrary to fact: the author of Chronicles can hardly be said to be independent of the books of Kings, or the Synoptists of each other (or at least of a common source), or the epistle of St. James of that to the Romans, etc. Again, the sacred writers do not seem to be in so perfect agreement as affirmed in the argument: it has never been an easy matter to harmonize the details in the Gospel narratives, and very few of the best scholars, ancient and modern, would go so far as to say that the harmony between the first three Gospels is so striking as to prove their divinely inspired character. The same remark applies to such passages as Amos v, 25, and Ezechiel xliv, which look like direct contradictions, the former, to the Mosaic narrative of the sojourn of Israel in Egypt; and the latter, to the primitive distinction between priests and Levites stated in Exodus and in other parts of Pentateuchal legislation. Finally, as admitted by Protestant scholars, the discrepancies in Biblical History which have been emphasized so strongly in the nineteenth century, and so freely considered as positive errors by Protestant interpreters,[1] count for much among the causes of the great disquiet which prevails in Protestant communities, regarding the very fact of inspiration,[2] so that it is difficult to see how "the wonderful harmony and connection subsisting between all the parts of Scripture, are a proof of its divine authority and original."[3]

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[1] HORNE, ibid., p. 167. Cfr. Chas. ELLIOTT, The Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, Part ii, chap. ii, p. 126, sqq.

The second part of the argument, which is oftener urged as a separate argument than the one just set forth—infers the inspiration of the Bible from the superhuman character of its *contents*.

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[1] Cfr. ROOKE, Lectures on Inspiration, p. 144, who declares that "it is foolish, or, if not foolish, disingenuous to deny that such discrepancies (i. e., due to slips of memory, or other failings of the sacred writers) do attach to the comparison of passages in Holy Writ."

[2] Jas. P. SMYTH, How God Inspired the Bible, p. 4.

[3] HORNE, loc. cit., p. 167.

"We find in it a Jewish national history. Never surely was national history so extraordinarily written. Everything is looked at in relation to God. Records of other ancient nations tell of what this or that great king accomplished; how the people conquered or were conquered by their enemies. In the Jewish records everything is of God. It was God who conquered, God who delivered, God who punished, God who taught. There is no boasting of the national glory, no flattering of the national vanity; their greatest sins and disgraces and punishments are recorded just as fully as their triumphs and their joys.

"In the records of other nations the chief stress is laid on power, and prosperity, and comfort, and wealth. In these strange records *goodness* seems the only thing of importance. To do the right seems of infinitely more value than to be powerful, or rich, or successful in life. Strange, indeed, if such history-writing be entirely of the earth! Pity that we have not learned such history-writing ourselves!

"We hear continually, as it were, a mysterious Voice all through the history, threatening, encouraging, pleading with an unwilling people. The sole business of prophet, and historian, and legislator, seems to be to rebuke men for sin, to incite them to holiness, to point to them the sometimes but dimly seen ideal of a noble, beautiful life. A rare phenomenon, indeed, in the histories of a nation!

"Will some one say that this was the natural development of the moral tendencies of the Jewish race? The race whose prominent tendencies, by their own confession, were idolatry and impurity. Remember how unwillingly they received that teaching, how rarely they obeyed it, how they killed the prophets that declared it to them. . . . Nay, surely not from the natural consciousness of Israel could such a Voice have come.

"Look next at the national poems and hymns of the people, the greatest miracle in the whole of the world's history. . . . I cannot conceive any honest, earnest unbeliever studying these carefully and believing them to be but ordinary human productions. When I turn to the secular history of the world at the time when the Psalms were written, even at the lowest date that criticism may assume; when I read of its filthiness and depravity, of its worship of images and fetishes, of its degraded conception of God and duty; and when I place that history beside my Bible open at the book of Psalms, it seems to me that the veriest infidel should be overwhelmed by the contrast. . . .

"And here is another extraordinary fact. We find as we examine this Book a series of teachers, who could not have been mere fanatics because of their calm common sense, who could not have been impostors because of the nobleness of their teaching and the danger that it exposed them to, yet claiming to speak for Jehovah. They seem to have felt a mysterious Spirit striving with their spirit, teaching, enlightening, sometimes almost compelling them to speak. . . .

"Another peculiarity of the Book. It predicts the future, and its predictions are fulfilled. What unaided sage or statesman can do that? 'Who as I,' saith God, 'declareth the thing that shall be?'"[1]

It may be admitted freely that the inference thus drawn from the wonderful contents of the sacred books should not be lightly set aside. In many ways the Bible appears superior to all other human books. Yet it does not seem that this superiority is such as to strictly prove its divinely inspired character. Its "Godward aspect," as it is called by the writer just quoted,[2] has its counterpart in confessedly uninspired books, such as the *De Civitate Dei* by St. Augustine, or *Le Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle* by Bossuet, or even in ancient Semitic inscriptions, such as the Moabite Stone, where everything also is directly referred to Chamos, Moab's God. An enthusiastic praise of earthly grandeur, of worldly splendor and riches and prosperity and aggrandizement, is found in connection with the glorious reigns of David and Solomon,[3] and if more of the kind is not heard of in the Bible, one may well suppose that it is because the biblical record of the various Jewish reigns is extremely short, or because these same reigns did not exhibit anything worthy of like praise. Again, the book of Judges seems hardly to exhibit that sublime character which is claimed for the historical books of the Bible, in order to lead us to admit their inspiration.

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[1] James Paterson SMYTH, How God Inspired the Bible, p. 26, sqq.

[2] J. P. SMYTH, ibid., p. 65.

[3] Cfr. II Kings viii; III Kings iv, 7, sqq.; x, 2, sqq., etc.

As regards the prophets of the Old Testament appealed to in this connection, it should be borne in mind that even the granting of the inspired character of their *spoken* words is no conclusive proof of the inspired character of their *written* records. An inspired writing is not simply a faithful account of utterances formerly delivered with the help of the Holy Spirit, or even of superhuman doctrines obtained through Revelation; it is a book composed with a divine commission to write, with a positive influence from God upon the writer. As the prophets were inspired speakers only in so far as they were divinely commissioned to speak, and divinely guided in their speech (this is granted in the argument above quoted), so must they be regarded as inspired writers only in so far as they are shown to have enjoyed the same privileges while writing.

Finally, the predictive element found in the Bible, though unquestionable, when closely examined is far from furnishing a clear evidence of Biblical Inspiration. Side by side with fulfilled prophecies, there are predictions the accomplishment of which has been, and still is, the matter of very serious controversy. And here again it must be remembered that a book containing true prophecies, that is, containing true revealed data, is not on that sole account an inspired book.

The last critical argument to be stated and examined is chiefly derived from the *organic unity* prevailing throughout the Bible. It is well and briefly stated by Rooke and Westcott in the following terms:

> "There is in the Bible as a whole," says the former writer,[1] "a certain organic unity by which all its parts are bound together around the central figure of Christ. Preparation for Christ by type, prediction, and providential arrangement manifestly pervades every part of the Old Testament, and the New Testament is as manifestly devoted to an explanation of these features of the Old Testament. Yet no one can say that the preparation is of human design or origin, or that the correspondence between the two parts of the Bible and their meeting-point in the historical person of Christ is the result of deliberate human skill or artifice. It is either a marvellous piece of chance, or else one of the phenomena in which we are compelled to recognize the divine and supernatural element. . . . Nor can we pretend to have given even a plausible account of Holy Scripture, unless we have found room in our explanation for a reasonable theory concerning this organic unity of the Bible, whence it arises, and what it means."

In the same strain, Bishop Westcott writes:[2]

> "The Bible contains in itself the fullest witness to its divine authority. If it appears that a large collection of fragmentary records, written, with few exceptions, without any designed connection, at most distant times, and under the most varied circumstances, yet combine to form a definite whole, broadly separated from other books; if it further appears that these different parts when interpreted historically reveal a gradual progress of social spiritual life, uniform at least in its general direction; if, without any intentional purpose, they offer not only remarkable coincidences in minute details of facts, for that is a mere question of accurate narration, but also subtle harmonies of complementary doctrine; if, in proportion as they are felt to be separate, they are felt also to be instinct with a common spirit; then will it be readily acknowledged that however they came into being first, however they were united afterwards into the sacred vol-

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[1] Lectures on Inspiration, p. 143 (Edinburgh, 1893).

[2] The Bible in the Church, p. 14. For a more detailed exposition of this argument, see A Clerical Symposium on Inspiration, art. ii, by Stanley LEATHES.

ume, they are yet legibly stamped with the divine seal as 'inspired by God' in a sense in which no other writings are."

As a confirmation or continuation of the argument just stated, some Protestant writers appeal to the admittedly divine origin of many of the component parts of the Bible. "The Bible," they say in substance, "is an organic whole, whose character as a whole must be judged by the character of its principal parts. Now these principal parts,—the sublime moral lessons which are inculcated, the revelations and prophecies which are recorded,—are the inspired Word of God. Hence the Bible, taken as a whole and with all its parts, must be recognized as the inspired Word of God."

The argument drawn from the organic unity of the Bible is of all the *critical* arguments the one most in favor among recent Protestant scholars. The reason of this is that the existence of a certain unity in the biblical writings can not only be inductively established, it can also be set forth in a manner calculated to produce a deep impression upon religious minds. But however strikingly this organic unity of the sacred books may be described, it is beyond question that the argument based on it cannot be considered as a conclusive proof of Biblical Inspiration. On the one hand, it is difficult, not to say impossible, to assign to entire books, such as Esther, Ecclesiastes, etc., a real share in "the organic unity by which all the parts of the Bible" are said to be "bound together around the central figure of Christ." On the other hand, it looks strange, indeed, that such books as the books of the Machabees, which seem almost indispensable to the full scheme of Biblical History, and which are recognized as belonging to Holy Writ by the Greek and Latin churches, should be placed by Protestants outside the Canon of the Sacred Scriptures. Apparently, the inspired or non-inspired character of the sacred books is independent of their amount of share in the organic unity of the Bible;

how then can this organic unity itself be the basis of an argument *for* or *against* their inspiration? Again, we are told by a Protestant critic that "within the Canon of Sacred Scripture, a considerable number of writings stand only on the border-line; it is even doubtful whether certain writings would have been admitted into the Canon at all if mistaken views of their nature and origin had not prevailed when they were canonized.[1] But even granting that all the sacred books admitted by Protestants were rightly inserted into the Canon, and can, on that score, form a sound basis for an argument drawn from the organic unity of the Bible, a further difficulty remains. This argument cannot be shown to be absolutely conclusive, as long as one can conceive that many biblical writings may have been the mere natural outcome or development, under peculiar circumstances, of conceptions already found in pre-existing Jewish literature, and may have been gathered and united to the books already collected, precisely because they were their natural sequel or complement.

It is plain, therefore, that the organic unity of the Bible, however real we may suppose it to be in most of its parts, is no strict proof of the inspired character of all the canonical writings.

3. Protestant Appeals to Authority to prove Biblical Inspiration. The more one realizes the inadequacy of the *critical* arguments put forward by Protestants in favor of Biblical Inspiration,—the principal of which have just been stated and examined,—the better able he is to understand how many of them feel compelled to fall back upon what may be called the Catholic ground of *authority*. Those we refer to appeal first to the authority of Christ and the Apostles, whose verdict is recorded in the Bible itself, and endeavor to show how it is a conclusive proof of the inspired character of all the sacred books of the Old and New Testaments.

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[1] G. T. LADD, The Doctrine of Sacred Scripture, vol. i, p. 747.

> "It is undeniable," we are told,[1] "that the Saviour and His Apostles regarded the Old Testament with at least as much reverence as did the Jews in their day. . . . Now be it observed, that the Jews, in the time of Christ, considered the writings of the Old Testament as *divinely inspired;* not merely in respect to their doctrines, but their whole matter and substance. Josephus says,[2] that in his time they were universally believed to have been written by men '*as they learned them of God Himself by inspiration*,' and were justly believed to be '*divine*.' . . . Hence we see that Jesus and His Apostles, in coinciding with, and in appealing to and promoting the current sentiment of the Jews in their days, must be considered as having, really and in the fullest sense, espoused and confirmed the doctrine of *the divine inspiration* of the Old Testament scriptures.
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> "But, unanswerable as is the above attestation, we have a direct assertion on the part of St. Paul of still greater importance. Having reminded Timothy, that from a child, he had known '*the Holy Scriptures* . . .' he makes this positive and conclusive declaration: '*All Scripture is given by inspiration of God*.' . . . Here, then, is the plain testimony of Paul . . . that whatever in his time was included under the name of 'Scripture' or 'Holy Scriptures,' was of divine inspiration . . . to wit: that collection of sacred books to which the Jews notoriously applied such names, or, in other words, the books of the Old Testament."

Again we are reminded that

> "The employment in the New Testament of the general titles 'Word of God,' 'Oracles of God,' 'the Scriptures,' 'all the Scriptures,' etc., etc., which recognize the Hebrew canonical books as a whole, is of a twofold service in the argument for their inspiration. In the first place, the testimony in such form to the

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[1] McIlvaine, The Evidences of Christianity, p. 394, sqq.

[2] Against Apion, Book i, § 7

inspiration of the Old Testament is an addition to the evidence derived from what the New Testament writers have said of the inspiration of particular passages of it; and in the second place, it puts on the same level, as to authority and inspiration, the whole of the writings included under the general names applicable to the Old Testament, whether they be quoted in the New or not, and whether we know or do not know the authorship of the particular books, or indeed know anything at all beyond the fact that they truly belong to the collection of writings which are included under the various names of 'the Scripture;' 'the Law and the Prophets;' 'the Word of God;' 'the Oracles of God.'"[1]

Having in this way established to their own satisfaction the inspired character of the books of the Old Testament, Protestant writers preface their argument in favor of the inspiration of those of the New, by the remark that:

"If the writings of the Old Testament were given by inspiration of God, much more were the writings of the New so given. 'If the ministration of death, written and engraven in stones, was glorious, ... how shall not the ministration of the Spirit be rather glorious?' (II Cor. iii, 7, 8). Though the New Testament is more glorious, yet its religion does not differ from that of the Old. The prophets of the Old declared beforehand the coming salvation; the evangelists of the New announced its accomplishment. It was not a different revelation that Moses and John were commanded to write. . . . With this view of the connection between the Old Testament and the New, it is impossible to separate between the inspiration of the one and that of the other."[2]

After this prefatory remark, the inspiration of the writings of the New Testament is inferred

"From the evident inspiration of the Apostles in their preaching and other official actions. It was expressly promised by the Lord, that when they would stand before enemies, in defence of the Gospel, they would speak by *inspiration of God* (Matt. x, 19, 20; Luke xii, 12; xxi, 15). . . . But inspiration was promised by the Saviour, in terms of the most comprehensive kind, when He promised to send to His disciples a Comforter—the Holy Spirit—who should abide with them forever, . . . 'the Spirit of truth,' . . . as a substitute in all respects for the presence, the guidance, the instructions of their Lord Himself. . . . The Spirit of truth '*shall teach you all things*.' '*He will lead you into all truth*.' . . . '*The Spirit of truth* shall bring all things to your *remembrance whatsoever I have said unto you*.' . . . Now all these promises are positive proofs that the Apostles were inspired in their ministry, as soon as their fulfilment took place. Thus, when the Day of Pentecost was fully come, and the Spirit descended upon them, 'they were all filled with the Holy Ghost,' and 'began to speak as the Spirit gave them utterance.' . . . By the same help, Peter discerned the spirit of Ananias and Sapphira. Their lie was unto the Holy Ghost, inasmuch as it was to one whom the Holy Ghost inspired. . . . Paul, by inspiration, went forth on his mission from Antioch to the lesser Asia. . . . When the Apostles, and elders, and brethren were assembled in council . . . . they consulted and determined as they were guided by inspiration of God. '*It seemeth good to the Holy Ghost*' was the solemn sanction annexed to their sentence. They claimed to be always received as inspired. Their speech and their preaching, they asserted, were 'in demonstration of the Spirit,' 'not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth.' . . . All these statements . . . abundantly confirm the position that the Apostles, in their preaching and other official actions, were in the highest sense *inspired*.

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[1] Chas. ELLIOTT, Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, p. 182. For a very detailed exposition of this argument as regards the Old Testament, see Abraham KUYPER, Encyclopædia of Sacred Theology, pp. 428-460.

[2] Chas. ELLIOTT, loc. cit., p. 182, sq. Cfr. also McILVAINE, loc. cit., p. 397, sq.

"Hence it would seem to be very naturally and reasonably inferred, that when they *wrote* for the permanent guidance of the churches they were inspired also. Can it be supposed that St. Paul, in preaching to the Ephesians or Corinthians spoke as he was moved by the Holy Ghost, and yet was entirely bereft of that divine aid when he sat down to the much more important work of composing epistles to those churches? . . . It seems to be a necessary conclusion, from the above premises, that the authors of the New Testament were divinely inspired, as well when writing for all people and all ages, as when speaking to the congregation of a single synagogue."[1]

For Catholics, as well as for Protestants, the references of Christ and the Apostles to the Old Testament generally, and to individual books, are a proof of their divine character, and as such are commonly appealed to by Catholic theologians. But the proof is incomplete. Even admitting that the authority of Christ and His Apostles proves conclusively the inspiration of the entire Old Testament, it is difficult to see how their testimony has the same cogency regarding the inspired character of all the books of the New Testament. None of these was written before Our Lord's ascension, and several of them could not be included within the Scriptures of the New Law, whose inspiration is sometimes said to have been declared by St. Paul writing to Timothy: "All Scripture is inspired of God,"[2] or by St. Peter when speaking of St. Paul's *epistles* "in which are certain things hard to be understood, which the unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also *the other scriptures*, to their own destruction."[3] In fact, it is with a view to escape the difficulty just pointed out that most Protestant writers—as is the case with the one whose words are quoted above,—instead of appealing to these testimonies of St. Peter and St. Paul, have recourse to an *a fortiori* argument based on Christ's promise of divine assistance to His messengers in the discharge of their Apostolic mission. If we must grant, we are told, that in virtue of this promise, the Apostles were under the guidance of the Holy Spirit when addressing a synagogue by words of mouth soon to perish, with much greater reason must we grant that they enjoyed the same divine guidance when writing for all peoples and all ages. The argument, though ingenious, is not strictly conclusive. Even at its best, it could not prove directly the inspiration of our second and third Gospels, since St. Mark and St. Luke were not Apostles. And if it is said that these Gospels were approved by the infallible authority, or written under the influence of St. Peter and St. Paul, as affirmed by tradition,[1] the very recourse to an authority distinct from that of Christ and His Apostles as recorded in Holy Writ, is a proof that the argument is insufficient by itself to establish the inspired character of all the books of the New Testament. Further, we are not told anywhere that the Acts of the Apostles, which are generally regarded as the work of St. Luke, ever obtained such Apostolic approval. Finally, when one remembers how difficult it is to prove the Apostolic authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and of some other writings of the New Testament, such as the Gospel of St. Matthew, the Gospel of St. John,[2] etc., he sees clearly that the argument, which, as set forth above, assumes the Apostolic authorship of all the books of the New Testament, does not rest on an absolutely solid foundation.

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[1] McIlvaine, loc. cit., p. 399, sqq. See also Chas. Elliott, loc. cit., p. 183, sqq.; Kuypert, loc. cit., p. 460, sqq., etc.

[2] II Tim. iii, 16.

[3] II Pet. iii, 16.

In view of the foregoing remarks, it is easy to understand how some Protestant writers fall back on the authority of the early Church to confirm and complete the preceding argument.

"Whatever truth there may be in regard to the influence which Peter and Paul exercised in the composition of them (Mark's and Luke's Gospels) one thing is firmly established, and must be received as an undoubted fact. They were immediately and universally received by the Church as possessing divine authority. They were never placed in the same category with the spurious documents, which soon made their appearance after them. . . .

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[1] Chas. ELLIOTT, loc. cit., p. 186.

[2] The questions connected with the *Origin* and *Authorship* of the writings of the New Testament will be dealt with in the forthcoming *Special* Introduction to the New Testament.

The Church must have had satisfactory reasons for putting them on a level with the other two Gospels,—reasons which justify the same claims to inspiration accorded to the other books of the New Testament."[1]

Other Protestants go even farther. They distinctly admit with Bishop Wordsworth, "that the Sacred Scriptures as a whole can be received upon no other authority but that of the testimony of the primitive Church."

This appeal of Protestants to the authority of the early Church adds undoubtedly to the value of an argument drawn from the authority of Christ and the Apostles, but this additional value is derived from a non-biblical source, and indeed from one essentially opposed to the leading principle of Protestantism, to wit: the rejection of all ecclesiastical tradition. Nor is this all. In denying the inspired character of the deutero-canonical books, all such Protestants as claim to admit the authority of the primitive Church go right against its verdict, for impartial history bears witness to the fact that "the Christian theologians of this period (that is, of the first three centuries) knew the Old Testament only in its Greek form (the Septuagint), and consequently made no distinction between what we call Canonical Books (Hebrew) and Apocryphal Books (Greek). They quote both with the same confidence, with the same formulas of honor, and attribute to them an equal authority based on an equal inspiration."[3] So that, in denying the inspiration of the deutero-canonical books, these same Protestant scholars reject as unsound the verdict of the Church herself, and treat her authority as an insufficient proof of Biblical Inspiration.

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[1] Chas. Elliott, loc. cit., p. 186. Cfr. McIlvaine, loc. cit., p. 403, sqq.

[2] Cfr. Inspiration. A Clerical Symposium, p. 191. Cfr. also in Lux Mundi, p. 283, the admissions of Canon Gore.

[3] These words of the late Protestant Prof. Reuss, have already been quoted (chap. ii, § 2, n. 2) as a concise and accurate statement of the testimony of the first three centuries of the history of the Old Testament Canon (Reuss, History of the Canon, p. 93, Engl. Transl.).

§ 2. *Proofs set forth by Catholics.*

1. Grounds Common to them and to Protestants. Several of the arguments advanced by Protestants in favor of the divine character of the Bible have been used with great effect by Catholic apologists in the nineteenth century. The elevating character of the Sacred Scriptures, their superhuman contents, and their organic unity, are grounds common to all believers in Holy Writ, and when set forth in a striking manner are very helpful to souls struggling against infidelity. Catholic theologians, however, while mentioning these as a confirmation of the Christian belief in inspiration, prefer to appeal to *authority* as a proof in favor of this doctrine.

Here again they meet with those Protestants who, as stated above, have felt the need to fall back upon the testimony of Christ and the Apostles, and even upon that of the early Church, to obtain solid proofs for the inspired character of Holy Writ. The first ground, then, which is common to Catholic and to Protestant scholars, is the authority of Christ and His Apostles. On both sides they point out how every man who recognizes the divine character of Christ and believes in His heavenly mission, must regard as inspired all the books of the Old Testament, because He either quoted them explicitly as the Word of God,[1] or referred to them in general terms, such as "the Scripture," "the Holy Scripture," etc.,[2] the obvious meaning of which at the time was that they had been written under a special divine influence.[3] On both sides, too, they appeal to the testimony of the Apostles who spoke of the Old Testament Scriptures in exactly the same terms as their divine Master, and unquestionably shared the belief of their Jewish contemporaries in the inspiration of all their contents. As regards these books of the New Testament which were written by the Apostles, both Catholics and Protestants consider as an argument in favor of their inspiration, the promise of special divine help made to them by Christ for their *oral* preaching. They feel that such a divine guidance should naturally be admitted also in connection with what may be called the *written* preaching of the Apostles. In both cases, the positive influence on the part of the Holy Ghost seems equally necessary for the carrying out of their divine mission, and if anything, special divine guidance would appear more needed for their writings than for their preaching by word of mouth, because they were destined not to perish at once, but rather to shape the faith of the Christian Church in all future ages. In fact, the manner in which St. Peter, in his Second Epistle, speaks of the epistles of St. Paul generally, placing them on the same level as the other divine Scriptures,[1] seems a powerful confirmation of the view that writings known to have been composed by Apostles were at once held as inspired.

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[1] Cfr. for instance Matt. xxii, 31; 41, sqq., etc., etc.

[2] Cfr. for inst., John xix, 36, sq.; Luke xxiv, 44, etc., etc.

[3] For details, cfr. Catholic theologians such as FRANZELIN, PESCH, SCHMID, CHAUVIN, etc.

The second ground common to Catholics, and to a certain number of Protestant scholars, is the testimony of the early Church. Apart from the infallible character of her teaching, the early Church bears witness to the fact that, when the sacred writers had not yet all left this world, or had but recently disappeared, her great teachers, such as St. Clement, St. Polycarp, St. Justin, St. Irenæus, etc., had learned to regard as *divine*, and to quote as the *words of the Holy Ghost*, the writings of the Old and New Testaments. It is indeed true that in the present day we are not able to describe the exact manner in which these great lights of the Church were led to put certain books (particularly those of our New Testament which are not referable to the Apostles and which do not seem to have received their distinct approval), on a level with those which Jesus and His Apostles had expressly treated as divine. But no one can reasonably doubt that they must have had satisfactory reasons for doing so, reasons which justify the same claims to inspiration accorded to the other sacred writings. Thus, then, the human testimony of the early Church may be appealed to by Catholics and Protestants, in order to complete whatever might be missing in the preceding argument to prove that *all* the books of the Bible should be regarded as inspired.

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[1] II Pet. iii, 16, sq.

It should, however, be borne in mind, as already pointed out, that once this testimony of the early Church is regarded as valid, the inspiration of the deutero- as well as of the proto-canonical books of the Old Testament, should be admitted, since it is a historical fact that the early Church held these two classes of books as equally sacred and inspired.

2. Grounds Special to Catholics in Favor of Inspiration. Over and above the grounds which are common to Protestants and Catholics, there is the distinctly Catholic argument, which rests the belief in the inspiration of the Bible directly on the divine authority of a living Church. It is plain that whatever difficulties may be raised against the doctrine of Biblical Inspiration, in the name of History, of Higher Criticism, of Geology, etc., Catholics will ever find a solid ground for their faith on this point, in the simple consideration that the inspired character of the Bible is certain beyond all doubt, since the Church, speaking with divine, and consequently infallible, authority, teaches it as a truth revealed by God. This is the ground which Catholic theologians and ecclesiastical writers naturally appeal to after they have established the right of a living Church to teach Revelation with divine authority; and it is the proof upon which St. Augustine,—and no doubt countless minds after him,—felt necessary to fall back upon, when he said: "I would not believe the Gospel, unless the authority of the Church moved me thereto."[1] Finally, according to many polemical writers among Catholics, it is the only adequate proof that can be given of the inspiration of Sacred Scripture, because, viewing it as a divine operation, not necessarily known even to the mind that is acted upon, they hold that the testimony of God Himself is required to make men perfectly sure of it, and that this divine testimony comes to our knowledge only by the voice of the Church which He has commanded us to hear.[2]

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[1] Contr. Ep. Fundam., chap. v.

[2] Cfr. WISEMAN, Principal Doctrines and Practices of the Catholic Church, Lect. ii; Bp. WEATHERS, in the Clerical Symposium on Inspiration, p. 193, sq.

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTER XXII.

Nature and Extent of Biblical Inspiration.

I. Importance and Intricacy of the Question.

II. Nature of Inspiration:

- 1. The common teaching of the Church:
  - What is Affirmed:
    - The Bible *is* the Word of God.
    - The twofold (Divine and Human) Authorship.
    - Three Divine operations in inspiration.
    - Human co-operation.
  - What is Denied:
    - Simple Divine assistance.
    - Simple subsequent Divine approval.
    - Subsequent approbation of the Church.
- 2. Questions freely debated:
  - Verbal Dictation Theory.
  - Verbal Inspiration as recently understood.
  - Limited Illumination Theory.

III. Extent of Inspiration:

- 1. The two tendencies regarding it defined.
- 2. The two tendencies compared:
  - They agree as to
    - Extension of inspiration to matters other than Faith and Morals.
    - Exclusion of every positive and formal error.
    - Admission of simply relative truth in certain Inspired Statements.
  - They disagree as to admission of simply Relative Truth as regards
    - Scientific Statements.
    - Historical Matters.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF BIBLICAL INSPIRATION.

§ 1. *Importance and Intricacy of the Question.*

Of the many religious questions which have engaged the attention of the learned world during the second part of the nineteenth century, very few, if any, have assumed the same importance as the question which regards the precise nature and extent of Biblical Inspiration. In the eyes of unbelievers bent on disproving the supernatural origin of Christianity, it imported supremely so to restrict the extent and lower the nature of Biblical Inspiration as to make it appear practically identical with the kind of sacredness which Oriental nations have ever claimed for their own religious books. On the other hand, it was of still greater importance to all believers in the divine character of the biblical records, not to allow such a desecration of Holy Writ, but rather to vindicate against all attacks its true and full inspiration. To most Protestants, in particular, so accustomed to look upon the whole Bible as absolutely and perfectly divine, the least effort to restrict the extent of its inspired character appeared as a sacrilegious attempt to do away with its inspiration altogether, and consequently to destroy the very basis of the Christian religion. As to Catholics, it is true that, in their eyes, the same question is not invested with so vital an importance, because their faith rests not on the Bible alone, but also on the Church.

It is nevertheless true that any opinion concerning the nature and extent of Biblical Inspiration that would depart widely from the traditional teaching, must cause concern to them, and especially to the pastors of the Church, who are divinely commissioned to watch over the perfect purity of revealed doctrine.[1] In point of fact, it was this that prompted Leo XIII, a few years ago, to issue the Encyclical *Providentissimus Deus* on the "Study of Holy Scripture," wherein he sets forth the traditional concept of inspiration, and declares that positions recently assumed by some Catholic writers regarding the nature and extent of Biblical Inspiration "cannot be tolerated."

Equal to the importance of this question is its intricacy. In the name of Astronomy, Geology, History, Archæology, Philology, Higher Criticism, etc., objections without number and of the most perplexing kind have been vigorously and persistently urged by specialists, against the traditional view of Biblical Inspiration. Nor have these specialists always been Rationalists bent on undermining all faith in the Holy Scriptures. Some also belonged to the ranks of the most earnest defenders of Christian Revelation. Perplexed and perhaps shaken in their traditional belief as regards the extent of inspiration, they urged such difficulties in order to show the necessity of restricting the doctrine of inspiration within such limits that it could be most effectively defended against those who denied inspiration altogether.[2] Finally, the treatment of this question is all the more difficult, because history clearly proves that during the course of Christian ages the Fathers and ecclesiastical writers varied considerably regarding the extent and even the nature of Biblical Inspiration.[3]

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[1] Cfr. I Tim. vi, 20; II Tim. iii, 14; Acts, xx, 27–31; Luke xxii, 32.

[2] Cfr. Chauvin, Leçons d'Introduction Générale, p. 48.

[3] For details, see chap. xx, History of the Doctrine of Biblical Inspiration.

On account of the great intricacy of the subject, we shall confine ourselves to a brief treatment of the nature and extent of inspiration, and to pointing out rather than discussing some of the difficult problems connected therewith.

§ 2. *Nature of Biblical Inspiration.*

1. The Common Teaching of the Church. As Catholics abide by the traditional teaching of the Church, they naturally agree in admitting certain positions and in rejecting others, accordingly as they are implied in, or, on the contrary, excluded by, the teaching of the Church regarding Biblical Inspiration. This agreement does not indeed prove that all such positions must be either held or rejected with the very same degree of certainty, for they are not equally either bound up or inconsistent with the definitions of the Church as to this point of Christian belief. But it sets forth, both in a positive and in a negative manner, the common teaching of the Church regarding the true nature of Scriptural Inspiration; and because of this, the positions either affirmed or denied by all Catholic scholars deserve a very special notice.

Starting from the definitions of Trent and of the Vatican quoted in a preceding chapter (chap. xx), Catholic theologians regard as most intimately bound up with the notion of inspiration therein declared, that of the divine authorship of all the books of the Bible. They likewise maintain that because of such divine authorship, the inspired writings have God for their *principal* author, and consequently do not simply *contain* the Word of God, but *are* in a true sense the Word of God; for the one truly said to be the author of a book is obviously its principal cause, and on that account, the words of the book are regarded and cited as his words.

By a further, but no less necessary deduction from the same definitions, they admit that the human writers of the sacred books by means of whom they have been composed, are at best, yet truly, *co-agents* with the Holy Ghost in their composition; and this, in fact, is the plain meaning of these words of the Vatican Council: "Spiritu Sancto inspirati *conscripti* (sunt libri)."[1]

Having thus recognized God as the principal author of the Canonical Books, and the inspired writers as the secondary or instrumental causes of the same sacred writings, Catholic theologians proceed to describe the manner in which the influence of God, on the one hand, and the action of the human agents, on the other, combined to produce the Holy Scriptures. As regards God's share in this production, they tell us that "Inspiration, in the special and technical sense, includes the three following operations of the Holy Ghost upon the sacred writers: (1) the impulse to put in writing the matter which God wills they should record; (2) the suggestion of the matter to be written, whether by revelation of truths not previously known, or only by the prompting of those things which were within the writers' knowledge; (3) the assistance which excludes liability to error in writing all things, whatever may be suggested to them by the Spirit of God, to be written."[2] This description of the manner in which God acts upon the mind and will and attention of the sacred writers has a twofold advantage: it fully embodies the tradition of Christian ages concerning this divine action, and it clearly states in what way God's design to express in writing certain truths by means of human instruments was safely carried out. It is not therefore surprising to find that it has recently received the solemn approval of the Holy See in the following words of the Encyclical *Providentissimus Deus:* "Nam supernaturali ipse (Deus) virtute ita eos ad scribendum excitavit et movit, ita scribentibus astitit, ut ea omnia eaque sola quæ ipse juberet, et recte mente conciperent, et fideliter conscribere vellent, et apte infallibili veritate exprimerent: secus, non ipse esset auctor sacræ Scripturæ universæ."

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[1] Constit. de Fide Catholica (sess. iii), cap. ii, de Revelatione.

[2] Card. Manning, The Temporal Mission of the Holy Ghost, p. 161 (3d edit.); cfr. also, Franzelin, Pesch, Tanquerey, etc., etc.

As regards man's share in the production of the sacred writings, Catholic scholars bid us to remember that though acting as co-agents under God's special influence, the inspired writers are no mere passive instruments, but bear themselves under the divine action as truly intelligent, active, and free agents. This they infer particularly from the words by which the author of the Second Book of the Machabees confesses that in undertaking his work of abridging (the five books of Jason of Cyrene) he has taken in hand no easy task, yea, rather a business full of watching and sweat . . . and has, according to the plan proposed, studied to be brief"[1] . . . ; and also from the statement of St. Luke in his Prologue, where he says that he has investigated with great care all the matters he is about to write down.[2] From these same passages and numberless others in Holy Writ. Catholic theologians conclude likewise that the sacred writers may have been unconscious of the fact of their inspiration, and that, as they may have committed to writing things which they already knew, so they may have also embodied in their books pre-existing documents.[3]

Side by side with these positions which all Catholic scholars maintain as embodying the positive and correct notion of inspiration, there are a few opinions which they expressly reject as insufficient, and which have been, or are still, held by either Catholic or Protestant scholars. Among these we may mention, first, the view of those who affirm that the *divine assistance*, which would simply exclude liability to error, is sufficient to constitute the notion of inspiration. Clearly this opinion is opposed to the scriptural expressions *θεόπνευστος*;[1] *ὑπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἁγίου φερόμενοι*,[2] the first of which conveys the idea of positive previous impulse on the part of God upon the writers; and the second describes the same sacred writers as actual instruments carried along by the Holy Spirit. Further, this notion likens the sacred writings to the infallible utterances of Popes and Councils, which all grant are not, strictly speaking, *inspired;* and it is difficult to see how a mere surveillance or watching over a writer can truly make God the *author* of the book of that human writer.

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[1] II Machab. ii, 27; cfr. also, verse 24.

[2] St. Luke i, 3.

[3] Cfr. NEWMAN, On the Inspiration of Scripture, in The Nineteenth Century, February, 1894, p. 195; VIGOUROUX, Manuel Biblique, vol. i, n. 253.

A second theory likewise rejected, because inadequate, is that of theologians, who, with Lessius, have thought that for inspiration it was enough that a book written with ordinary care and diligence, but without supernatural divine aid should be declared free from error by subsequent direct approbation from *God.* On the one hand, such subsequent divine approbation cannot be considered as equivalent to a divine action which would enable us to speak of God as the true author of a work thus exclusively written by man; and on the other hand, this notion of inspiration is directly opposed to the doctrine of Pope Leo XIII, in his Encyclical quoted above, and to that of the Council of the Vatican speaking of the sacred books as written jointly by the action of the Holy Ghost and by that of the human writer: "Spiritu Sancto inspirante, *conscripti.*"

Still more inadmissible is the view according to which the subsequent approbation of *the Church* would suffice to make of an ordinary book an inspired writing. The Church has indeed the mission to declare with infallible authority whether a book has been written under the divine influence which is called inspiration; but this does not impart to her the power of supplying whatever amount of divine influence might have been missing in the book at the time of its composition. Besides, the Church herself assembled in the Vatican has openly disclaimed this power, when she said: "that she holds the books of both Testaments as sacred and canonical, not because, having been composed by mere human industry, they were afterwards approved by her authority . . . but, because having been written under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, they have God for their author."[1]

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[1] II Tim. iii, 16.

[2] II Pet. i, 21; cfr. also, verse 20.

2. Questions freely Debated. Beside the positions which all Catholic scholars agree in admitting or in rejecting, there are theories regarding the nature of inspiration, which, though correct from the standpoint of Catholic orthodoxy, have not won universal acceptance. In their several degrees of probability they have been or are still freely debated in the Church, and, as such, claim a passing notice.

The first, which, as we have seen,[2] has been admitted by many Fathers and ecclesiastical writers, looks upon the sacred writers as mere amanuenses of the Holy Spirit. In thus conceiving of inspiration as a divine *dictation*, which the human authors of the various books simply set down in writing, one may feel perfectly sure that his notion of inspiration includes all the elements required by the Church in order that God may be truly said "the author" of the sacred writings. He may well doubt, however, if his theory of *verbal* inspiration, as it is called, does not detract too much from the share of the human agents in the composition of the inspired books, by reducing it to the mere mechanical act of writing. On the one hand, most Fathers and ecclesiastical writers have ascribed a greater share than here admitted to the human writers of the books of Holy Writ; and, on the other, the individual peculiarities of style, diction, thought, manner of treatment, and more particularly the discrepancies as regards the details recorded, tend to prove that the so-called human element of the Sacred Scriptures is much greater than this "mechanical theory" of inspiration would have us believe.[1]

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[1] Vatic. Concil., Constit. Dogmatica, Dei Filius, cap. ii, de Revelatione.

[2] Cfr. chap. xx, On the History of the Doctrine of Inspiration.

The second orthodox theory,—also called a *verbal* inspiration theory,—maintains that though an active and free agent in the composition of an inspired book, the sacred writer was under the special divine influence which is called inspiration, at the very time when he either wrote or dictated to an amanuensis, the words which go to make up his inspired work. According to this theory, the human author of a book of Holy Writ selects indeed freely and according to his literary ability, information, etc., the words which he puts down, but his selection and use of them are not withdrawn from the influence of the Holy Spirit. This second opinion, which makes due allowance for the peculiarities as regards the matter and form of the various books, has the further advantage to harmonize well (1) with the description of Scriptural Inspiration quoted above from the Pope's Encyclical, in which Leo XIII implies that the divine assistance guided the sacred writers from the beginning to the end of their work; (2) with these expressions of the Council of the Vatican: "Spiritu sancto inspirante *conscripti* (sunt libri)," which naturally suggest that the selection and use of the primitive words of the inspired records, were not made independently of, but rather conjointly with, the divine action. It is not, therefore, surprising to find that it has been steadily gaining ground, and that it counts among its advocates such Catholic writers as De Schaezler, Fernandez, Le Hir, Tanquerey, Loisy, Lagrange, Lévesque, Chauvin, etc.[1]

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[1] For further details, cfr. VIGOUROUX, Manuel Biblique, n. 15, *bis*.

The last opinion to be mentioned ascribes still more scope to the individual action of the sacred writers in the composition of the Holy Scriptures. It maintains that God may truly be said "the author" of an inspired book, even though His action, as regards those things which were already within the writer's knowledge, should be limited to an impulse to write on a given topic, and to a general indication of the things already known, which He wishes should enter into the composition of the book. It is thus, we are told, that several Papal documents have been framed, the authorship of which everybody ascribes to the Sovereign Pontiff who promulgated them.[2] In the abstract. this view, which may be called a *Limited Illumination* theory, seems sufficient to meet the requirements of the definitions of the Church concerning inspiration, inasmuch as a book thus composed may strictly be called "the Word of God." It can hardly be denied, however, that when considered in the concrete, a work thus written would hardly have been composed under the divine influence as it is described by Catholic theologians at large, and by Leo XIII, in the passage of the Encyclical *Providentissimus Deus*, quoted above.

§ 3. *Extent of Biblical Inspiration.*

1. The two Tendencies Regarding it Defined. However difficult the question as to the nature of inspiration may appear, that which regards its *extent* is still more so. On the one hand, the definitions of the Church have a more immediate application to the notion of Scriptural Inspiration than to its extent; and, on the other hand, scholars have, as, may be seen in detail in the chapter on the History of the Doctrine of Inspiration, framed more disparate theories concerning the latter question than concerning the former. The difficulty of the question as to the extent of inspiration may further be realized from the fact that a detailed examination of these various theories can hardly be made without previous acquaintance with other intricate questions which belong either to *Special* Introduction, or to scriptural exegesis. Leaving, therefore, aside every attempt at an exhaustive treatment of this topic, we shall confine our remarks (1) to a brief description of the two main tendencies now prevalent among Catholic scholars regarding it; and (2) to a short comparison between the most important positions indorsed by their respective advocates.

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[1] For a skilful exposition and defence of this theory, see particularly CHAUVIN, L'Inspiration des Divines Ecritures, chap. vii.

[2] Cfr. CORLUY, S. J., in JAUGEY, Dictionnaire Apologétique de la Foi Catholique, col., 935.

It is beyond doubt that all Catholic writers look upon the traditional teaching of the Church regarding the *nature* of inspiration as a valid means to determine its *extent*, and it is no less certain that were they simply to draw therefrom strictly logical consequences, they would naturally be led to the conclusion that the sacred books in their primitive form, were perfect in every respect. They would naturally maintain that since "God is their author" in such a manner that they must be regarded as truly "His Word," everything in them—the words no less than the thoughts, the apparently unimportant statements, no less than the sentences directly connected with faith and morals, etc., etc.,—must bear the manifest impress of their divine origin. In reality, there is none among them, who, after the example of the Fathers and other ancient writers of the Church, does not feel the necessity of modifying such *a priori* views, so as to bring them into harmony with the actual features of the inspired writings. All grant, for instance, that the grammatical inaccuracies or other defects of style and composition noticeable in the sacred books, should not be reckoned among the objects to which divine inspiration is directly extended. So that, according to all Catholic scholars, the traditional teaching of the Church, or, more precisely, deductions from this teaching, and the features exhibited by the inspired writings as determined by a scientific investigation of the sacred text, should be both combined in an attempt to determine the exact extent of the divine influence under which the Canonical Books were composed. Now it is precisely in regard to the manner in which these two elements should be combined, that two general tendencies may be discovered among Catholic writers. While most of them seem chiefly inclined, not indeed to deny, but to interpret, well-ascertained facts, so as to bring them into harmony with the deductions which they regard as validly drawn from unquestionable principles; many, on the contrary, think that in connection with some particular facts, it would be better to allow greater weight to them, and to modify the theoretical deductions on their account.

2. The Two Tendencies Regarding the Extent of Inspiration Compared. The divergent tendencies just exposed account for the fact that, though agreeing upon the main points connected with the *extent* of Biblical Inspiration, Catholic writers are still divided concerning some points of great importance. We now proceed briefly to set forth, first, the positions upon which they all agree; and, next, those respecting which they remain at variance.

The first, and perhaps best-grounded, position common to all Catholic scholars, is the natural sequel of the traditional views regarding the nature of inspiration, which have already been exposed. It is to the effect that *divine inspiration must extend to matters other than faith and morals*, because this is an obvious inference from the dogmatic formula: "The sacred books of both Testaments have God for their author." This view, which has also been generally inferred from the decree of Trent that "the sacred books *with all their parts*" must be held as sacred and canonical, has the further support of the testimony of Our Lord and the New Testament writers, who regard indiscriminately as God's Word, passages which have a bearing on faith and morals, and those that have not. Again, it is the only position in harmony with the well-nigh universal and constant consent of the Fathers and ecclesiastical writers;[1] and the opposite view has lately been disapproved and rejected by the Holy See, in the following terms: "The system of those who, in order to rid themselves of these difficulties, do not hesitate to concede that divine inspiration regards the things of faith and morals, and nothing beyond . . . this system cannot be tolerated."[2]

As regards those matters not appertaining to faith and morals, which should be considered as inspired, Catholic theologians admit, generally, that they include "omnes omnino res et sententias, quæ ab auctore scriptæ sunt."[3] The grounds set forth for this view are practically those that have just been exposed; and to them may be added the fact, that whatever things or statements may be proved to have been added to the primitive text by any one beside an inspired writer, are at once considered as merely man's word; while, on the contrary, whatever may be proved to have belonged primitively to the text, is treated at once, wherever found, as the Word of God.

The second leading position admitted by all Catholic scholars, is that *divine inspiration so extends to all the con-*

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[1] Cfr. LOISY, La Question Biblique et l'Inspiration des Ecritures.

[2] Encyclical *Providentissimus Deus*, p. 39 (Official Engl. Transl.).

[3] C. PESCH, S. J., Institutiones Propædeuticæ ad Sacram Theol., prop. lx. Cfr. TANQUEREY, De Locis Theologicis, n. 55; CHAUVIN, L'Inspiration des Divines Ecritures, chap. vi, etc.

tents of Holy Writ as to exclude from it every positive and formal error. The chief ground for this position is the tradition of the Church, which, as well remarked by Loisy, "never looked upon the Bible as a mosaic made up of erroneous human statements set side by side with statements true and divine. Whoever starts from the data supplied by tradition must admit that there is no room for error in Holy Writ."[1] And this is precisely the ground taken by Leo XIII in his memorable Encyclical *Providentissimus Deus*, where, after having stated that "so far is it from being possible that any error can co-exist with inspiration, that inspiration not only is essentially incompatible with error, but excludes and rejects it as absolutely and necessarily as it is impossible that God Himself, the Supreme Truth, be the author of any error whatever," the Sovereign Pontiff adds: "This is the ancient and unchanging faith of the Church," quotes as a proof the words of the Council of the Vatican, and concludes: "Hence, because the Holy Ghost employed men as His instruments, we cannot, therefore, say that it was these inspired instruments who, perchance, have fallen into error, and not the primary author."[2]

But while thus excluding every positive and formal error from the genuine passages of the sacred writings, Catholic scholars *do not intend to affirm that divine inspiration makes them all to be true in exactly the same manner:* "Vi inspirationis non omnia eodem modo vera sunt."[3] Most statements of Holy Writ must, of course, be taken as expressing a plain objective fact, and consequently as containing an absolute truth. This is clearly the case with such statements as: God created heaven and earth; Jesus suffered and died for our sins, etc. But there are other statements in the Bible, such, for instance, as refer to purely scientific matters (that the earth is immovable; that the sun rises and sets; that the moon is larger in size than the stars, etc.), which, on the one hand, cannot be regarded in exactly the same light as those referred to above, since they do not contain the expression of something absolutely true; and which, on the other hand, should not be set down simply as erroneous, because they are part and parcel of inspired writings, that is of books from which every positive and formal error must be excluded. Whence the third position common to all Catholic writers, that in certain biblical statements, not absolute, but simply relative truth may be admitted. That this third position is not an evasion invented to escape the difficulties recently raised in the name of science against the truth of the biblical records, is plain from the fact that such an ancient theologian as St. Thomas († 1274) practically held it, when he wrote: "Moyses rudi populo loquebatur, quorum imbecillitati condescendens, illa solum eis proposuit quæ manifeste sensui apparent."[1] In fact, as early as the time of St. Augustine († 430) it was clearly seen that statements referring to purely scientific matters should not be taken as expressing absolute truth, because, as this holy Doctor says "the Holy Ghost who spoke by them (by the inspired writers) did not intend to teach men these things which were in no way profitable to salvation."[2] It is not therefore surprising to find that in his Encyclical on "The Study of Holy Scripture," which embodies so well the tradition of Catholic ages, Pope Leo XIII draws the following conclusion: "Hence they (the inspired writers) did not seek to penetrate the secrets of nature, but rather described and dealt with things in more or less figurative language, or in terms which were commonly used at the time, and which, in many instances, are in daily use at this day, even by the most eminent men of science. Ordinary speech primarily and properly describes what comes under the senses; and somewhat in the same way the sacred writers--as the Angelic Doctor also reminds us—'went by what sensibly appeared,' or put down what God, speaking to men, signified, in the way men could understand and were accustomed to."[1]

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[1] Loc. cit, p. 4.

[2] Encyclical, On the Study of Holy Scripture, pp. 39, 40 (Official Eng. Transl.).

[3] PESCH, ibid., prop. lx; and also, n. 629.

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[1] Summa Theologica, pars. i, quæst. lxx, art. i, ad 3um.

[2] De Genesi ad Litteram, Book ii, chap. ix, n. 20.

Thus, then, according to this position of Catholic scholars, an erroneous impression might indeed be gathered from certain statements of the sacred writers, as for instance, from their unscientific descriptions of natural phenomena. But the erroneous impression may and should be set aside by treating the popular language under their pens, as we treat similar language on the lips of even the best-informed men of science. It describes external phenomena without reference to their true nature, and describes them accurately as they appear. In a word, it contains not absolute, but only relative, truth.

It is precisely in connection with the manner and extent in which relatively true statements should be admitted in Holy Writ, that differences of views arise among Catholic writers. While many would restrict such relativeness of truth to a comparatively few biblical passages which refer to purely scientific matters, others think it should be extended to all scientific matters and to many historical statements besides.

The main argument set forth by the latter class of scholars for extending the relativeness of truth to historical statements, is drawn from the many discrepancies which they meet with in the historical books, the numerous inaccuracies as regards chronology, geography, etc., which they think are found therein. To save the truthful character of the inspired narratives, without going against what appears to them the plain meaning of the text, they affirm that here, as in connection with purely scientific statements, appeal should be made to an accommodation by the sacred writers to the manner in which historical matters were dealt with in their time. The compiling of traditions or documents, for instance, was in vogue in their day, without reference to the objective truth of these sources of information; and in consequence, we find such traditions or documents with their variations, simply embodied in the sacred records. Again, as Schanz puts it: "when the sacred writers do not claim to write history, or to write it as demanded by modern criticism, they cannot be accused of error, if the representation does not completely correspond to the standard of severely historical science."[1]

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[1] Encyclical *Providentissimus Deus*, p. 36, sq.

As a confirmation of their position in regard to purely historical matters, the same Catholic scholars remind us that no less illustrious a writer than St. Jerome seems to have affirmed it when he wrote: "quasi non multa in Scripturis sanctis dicantur juxta opinionem temporis quo gesta referuntur, et non juxta quod rei veritas continebat."[2] Finally, they tell us that far from having been rejected by the Holy See, the view that purely historical statements found in Holy Writ may be treated in about the same manner as some of its scientific statements, has been practically endorsed by Leo XIII, in his Encyclical "On the Study of Holy Scripture." For having adopted and approved the view that the language of the sacred writers may be taken as not conveying the strict scientific truth, the Sovereign Pontiff says a little later: "the principles here laid down will apply to cognate sciences, and especially to history."[3]

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[1] In the Theol. Quart.-Schrift, for 1895, p. 188. Cfr. also, p. 191, where the same writer says: "In Chronicles, many differences of dates and facts could be adduced, which are explicable in part from the aim of the book, in great part only from the use of different sources."

[2] In Jeremiam, cap. xxviii, verses 10, 11.

[3] Encyclical, p. 38 (Official Eng. Transl.).

The second main difference between the advocates of the two tendencies described above, bears precisely on this: that while many Catholic scholars admit the existence of *relatively* true scientific statements only, when the sacred writers do not make such statements their own, many others, on the contrary, affirm their existence, even in cases where these purely scientific views are countenanced by the inspired writers. Here again, the latter scholars appeal to the manner in which the Bible speaks of such matters, as a ground for their position. They tell us that the sacred writers, as granted on all hands, were not favored with a special revelation concerning the true nature of purely scientific facts; that in their language they so clearly share the opinions of their time, that did we not know that such opinions are not absolutely corresponding to the reality of things, we should never suspect that they were not fully endorsed by them; that, far from even giving us a single hint showing that they hold different positions from those which they state, they assume the current notions of their time as a basis for their arguments; that, in a word, everything in the manner of the inspired writers is so calculated to produce the impression that they themselves countenance the scientific views which they express, that every attempt at showing the reverse must clearly appear to lack a basis of fact. Hence, they conclude that as far as the plain meaning of the biblical statements is concerned, it bears out their own position.

At the same time, these Catholic writers distinctly maintain that such endorsements of views not absolutely true, are not positive and formal errors on the part of the sacred writers. "We have not the remotest intention of saying," writes Schanz,"[1] "that the sacred writers have erred, or were liable to err in things even unimportant and accidental, but only that in such matters as profane science and profane history, they leave the responsibility of borrowed statements to the source whence they drew them, or that they followed a common and well-recognized way of thinking and speaking. If any one should here think it is his duty to protest against the supposition that God could have been the occasion of an erroneous chronology, his contention would only show a mistaken notion of inspiration." Willingly, too, these same authors admit with St. Augustine, that "the sacred writers, or to speak more accurately, the Holy Ghost who spoke by them, did not intend to teach men these things (that is to say, the essential nature of the things of the visible universe) things in no way profitable unto salvation."[1]

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[1] A Christian Apology, vol. ii, p. 434 (Engl. Transl., 1896).

In bringing to a close this brief exposition of the leading conclusions of contemporary Catholic scholars regarding the *extent* of Biblical Inspiration, we subjoin the three following remarks: (1) the points of agreement among Catholic writers are both more numerous and more important than the points of disagreement; (2) as long as the advocates of either of the two tendencies which have been exposed, maintain the exclusion of every positive and formal error from genuine biblical statements, they seem to remain within the lines of Catholic orthodoxy; (3) the extending of relativeness of truth to all scientific statements and to historical statements not having a direct bearing on points of faith and morals, is not perhaps necessary either for exegetical scholars to determine accurately the sense of the sacred records, or for apologetical writers to vindicate that exclusion of positive and formal error which Catholic tradition has ever maintained regarding all the statements of the Holy Scriptures.

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[1] Words of St. Augustine as quoted by Leo XIII in the Encyclical *Providentissimus Deus*.—In reference to the exact bearing of the same Encyclical. see the valuable article entitled "A Negative View of the Encyclical *Providentissimus Deus*," by Rev. A. J. Maas, S. J., in the Catholic Quarterly Review for 1895, pp. 162–175.

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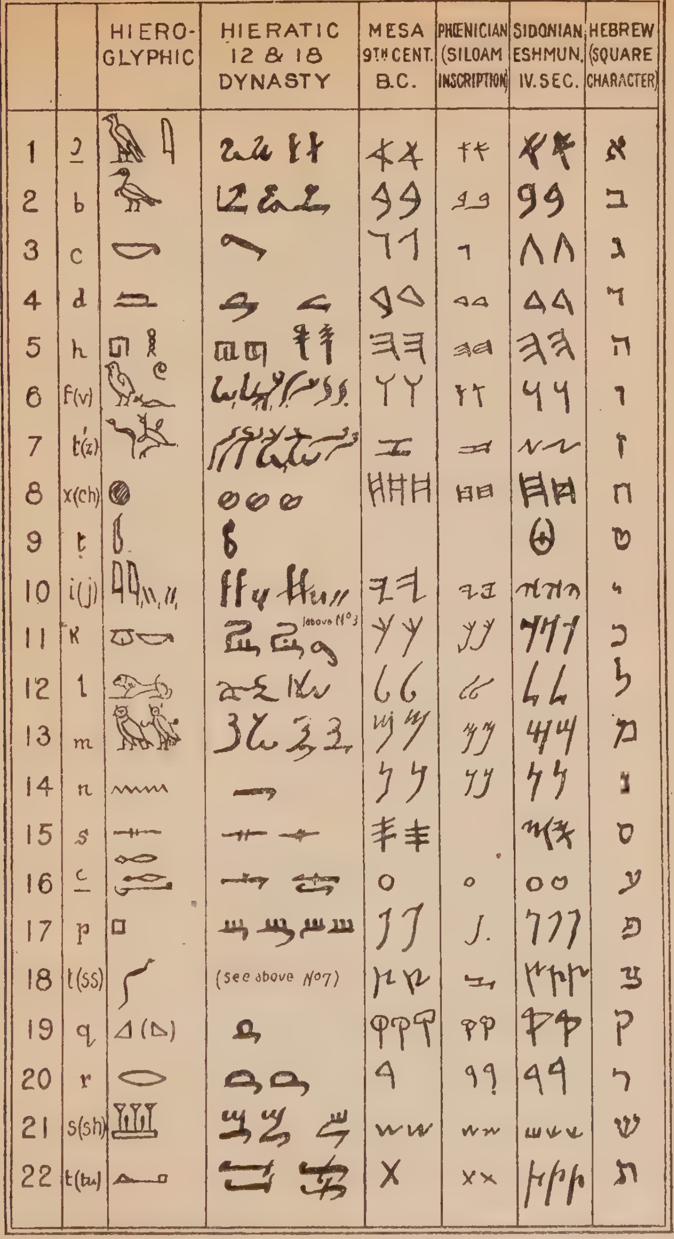
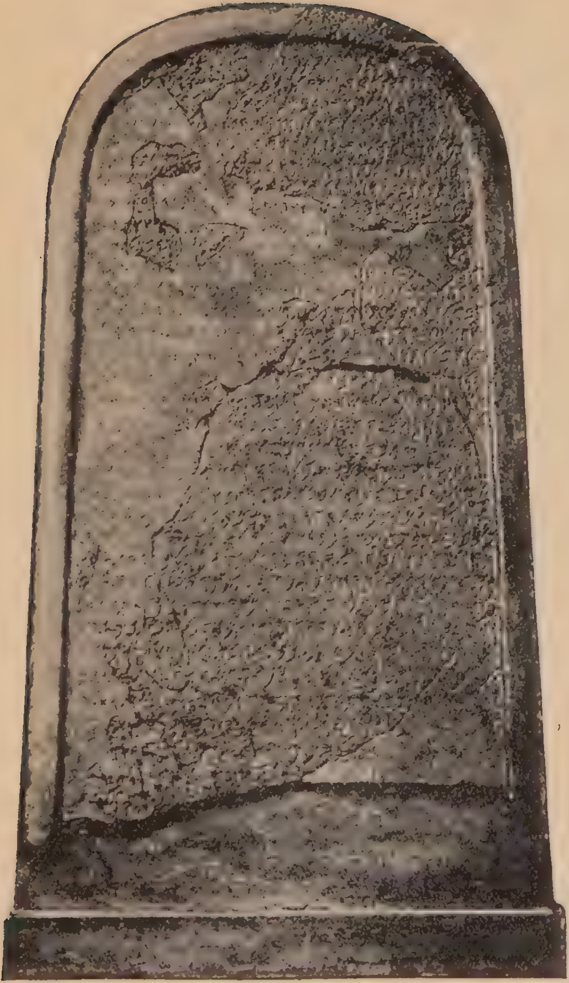


		HIERO-GLYPHIC	HIERATIC 12 & 18 DYNASTY	MESA 9TH CENT. B.C.	PHŒNICIAN (SILOAM INSCRIPTION)	SIDONIAN ESHMUN, IV. SEC.	HEBREW (SQUARE CHARACTER)
1	ꜣ						א
2	b						ב
3	c						ג
4	d						ד
5	h						ה
6	f(v)						ו
7	t́(z)						ז
8	x(ch)						ח
9	ṭ						ט
10	i(j)						י
11	k		(above No 3)				כ
12	l						ל
13	m						מ
14	n						נ
15	s						ס
16	c̱						ע
17	p						פ
18	t(ss)		(see above No 7)				צ
19	q	△ (▷)					ק
20	r						ר
21	s(sh)						ש
22	t(th)						ת

TABLE SHOWING THE DERIVATION OF THE HEBREW CHARACTERS FROM THE EGYPTIAN.



Moabite Stone—circa b.c. 890.

OCTAPLA (Ps. 2, 6).

ΤΟ ΕΒΡΑΙΚ.	ΤΟ ΕΒΡ. ΕΛΛ. ΓΡΑΜΜΑΣΙΝ.	ΑΚΥΛΑΣ.	ΣΥΜΜΑΧΟΣ.	Οἱ 'Ο.	ΘΕΟΔΟΤΙΩΝ.	Ε'.	ϛ'.
ואני נסכתי מלכי	ουανι νασαχθι μαλχι.	χαγὼ διεσωσάμην βασιλέα μου.	χαγὼ ἔχρισα τὸν βασιλέα μου.	ἐγὼ δὲ κατεστάθην βασιλεὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.	ἐγὼ δὲ κατεστάθην βασιλεὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.	χαγὼ διεσωσάμην βασιλέα μου.	χαγὼ ἔσωσα τὸν βασιλέα μου.

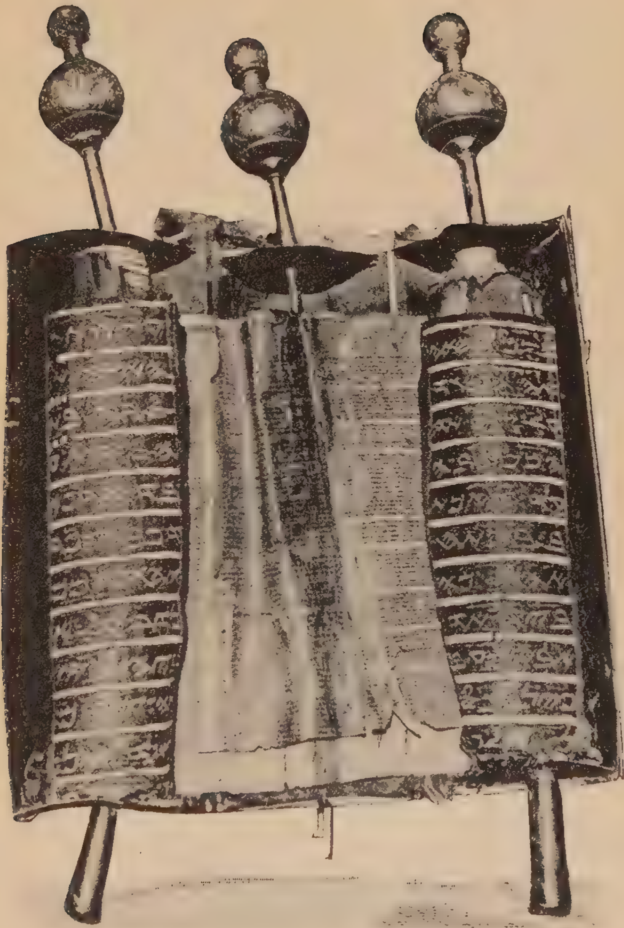
HEXAPLA (Os. 11, 1).

ΤΟ ΕΒΡΑΙΚΟΝ.	ΤΟ ΕΒΡ. ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚ. ΓΡΑΜΜΑΣΙΝ.	ΑΚΥΛΑΣ.	ΣΥΜΜΑΧΟΣ.	Οἱ 'Ο.	ΘΕΟΔΟΤΙΩΝ.
כי נער ישראל ואהבהו וממצרים קראתי לבני	χι νερ Ισραηλ ουεαβηου ουμεμμεσραιμ καραθι λεβανι.	ὅτι παῖς Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἠγάπησα αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπὸ Αἰγύπτου ἐκάλεσα τὸν υἱόν μου.	ὅτι παῖς Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἠγαπημένος, ἐξ Αἰγύπτου κέκληται υἱός μου.	ὅτι νήπιος Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐγὼ ἠγάπησα αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου κέκληται υἱός μου.	ὅτι νήπιος Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἠγάπησα αὐτὸν και ἐκάλεσα υἱόν μου ἐξ Αἰγύπτου.

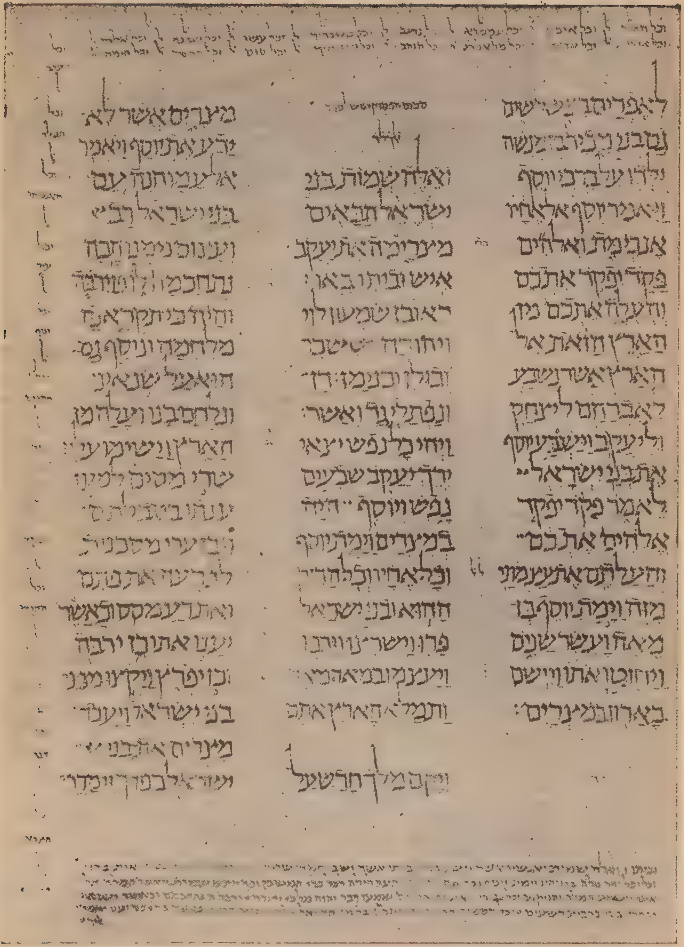
TETRAPLA (Gen. 1, 1).

ΑΚΥΛΑΣ.	ΣΥΜΜΑΧΟΣ.	Οἱ 'Ο	ΘΕΟΔΟΤΙΩΝ.
Ἐν κεφαλαίῳ ἔκτισεν ὁ θεός σὺν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ σὺν τὴν γῆν.	Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἔκτισεν ὁ θεός τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.	Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.	Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἔκτισεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανόν καὶ τὴν γῆν.

ORIGEN'S HEXAPLA.



SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH ROLL (NAPLOUS).



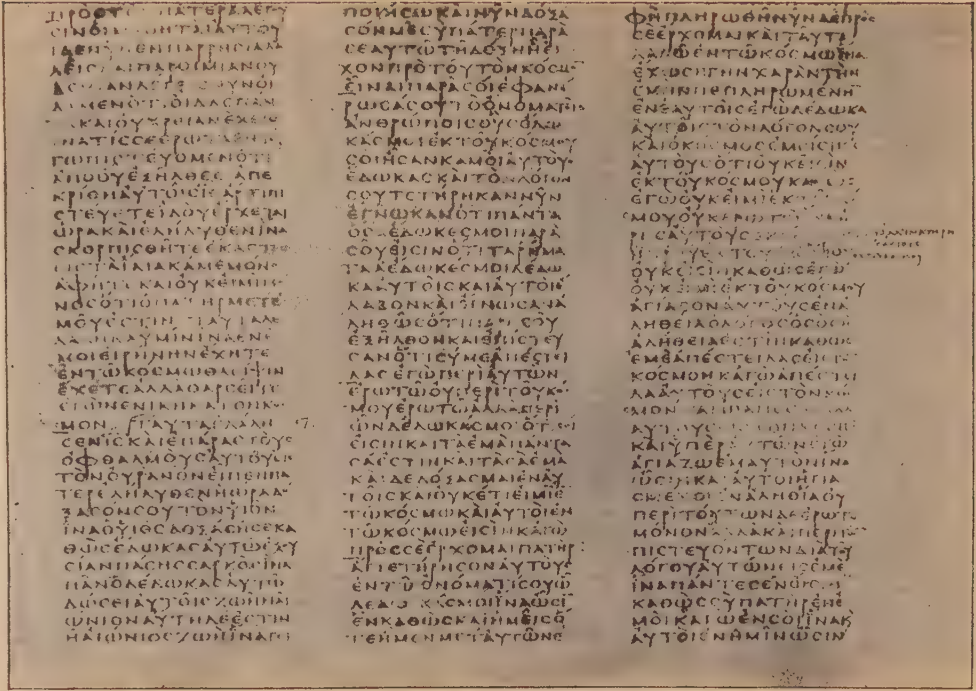
לאפרים בני שלשים
גם בני מכיר בן מנשה
ילדו על ברכי יוסף
ויאמר יוסף אל אחיו
אנכי מת ואלהים
פקד יפקד אתכם
והעלה אתכם מן
הארץ הזאת אל
הארץ אשר נשבע
לאברהם ליצחק
וליעקב וישבע יוסף
את בני ישראל
לאמר פקד יפקד
אלהים אתכם
והעלתם את עצמתי
מזה וימת יוסף בן
מאה ועשר שנים
ויחנטו אתו ויישם
בארון במצרים׃

ואלה שמות בני
ישראל הבאים
מצרימה את יעקב
איש וביתו באו׃
ראובן שמעון לוי
ויהודה יששכר
זבולן ובנימן דן
ונפתלי גד ואשר׃
ויהי כל נפש יצאי
ירך יעקב שבעים
נפש ויוסף היה
במצרים וימת יוסף
וכל אחיו וכל הדור
ההוא ובני ישראל
פרו וישרצו וירבו
ויעצמו במאד מאד
ותמלא הארץ אתם׃

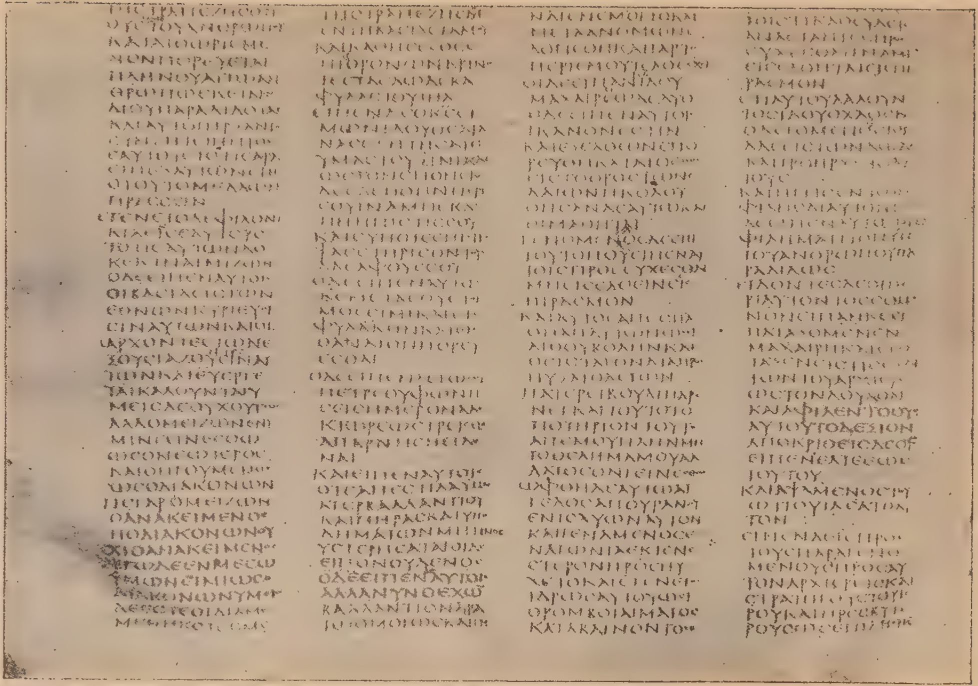
ויקם מלך חדש על

מצרים אשר לא
ידע את יוסף ויאמר
אל עמו הנה עם
בני ישראל רב
ועצום ממנו הבה
נתחכמה לו פן ירבה
והיה כי תקראנה
מלחמה ונוסף גם
הוא על שנאינו
ונלחם בנו ועלה מן
הארץ וישימו עליו
שרי מסים למען
ענתו בסבלתם
ויבן ערי מסכנות
לפרעה את פתם
ואת רעמסס וכאשר
יענו אתו כן ירבה
וכן יפרץ ויקצו מפני
בני ישראל ויעבדו
מצרים את בני י׳
ישר׳ בפרך וימררו

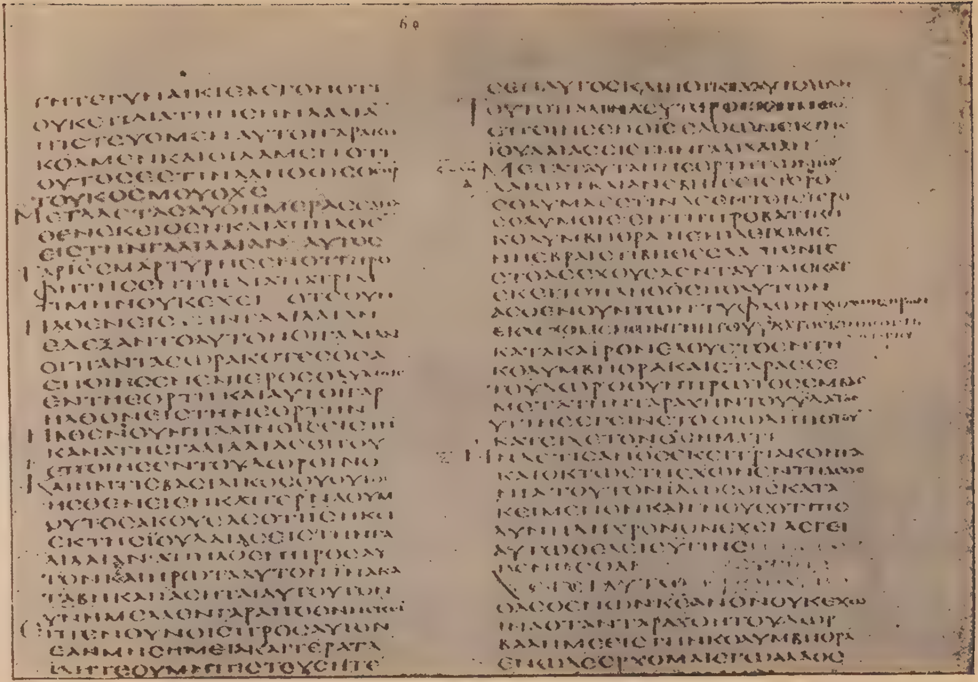
HEBREW MS.—9TH CENT. (?)



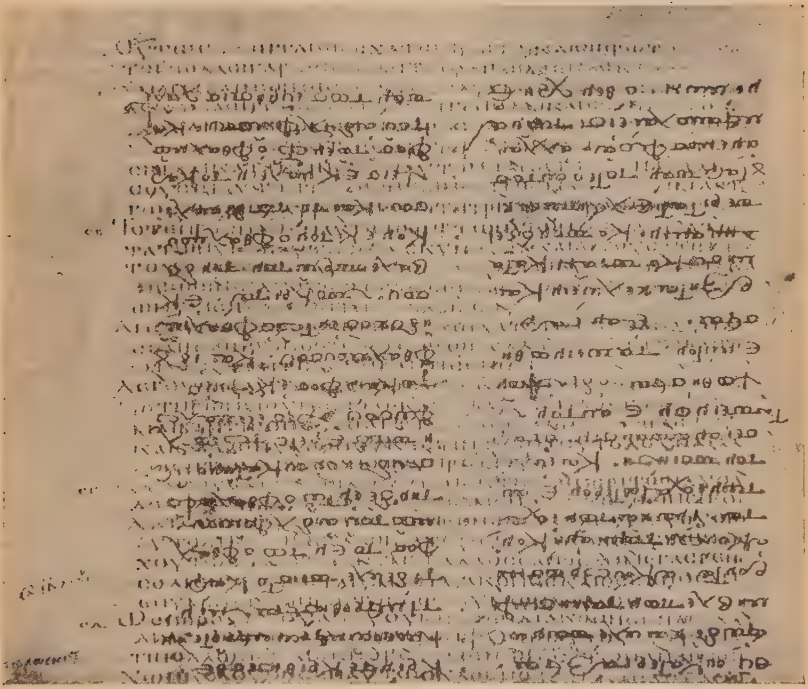
CODEX VATICANUS—4TH CENT.



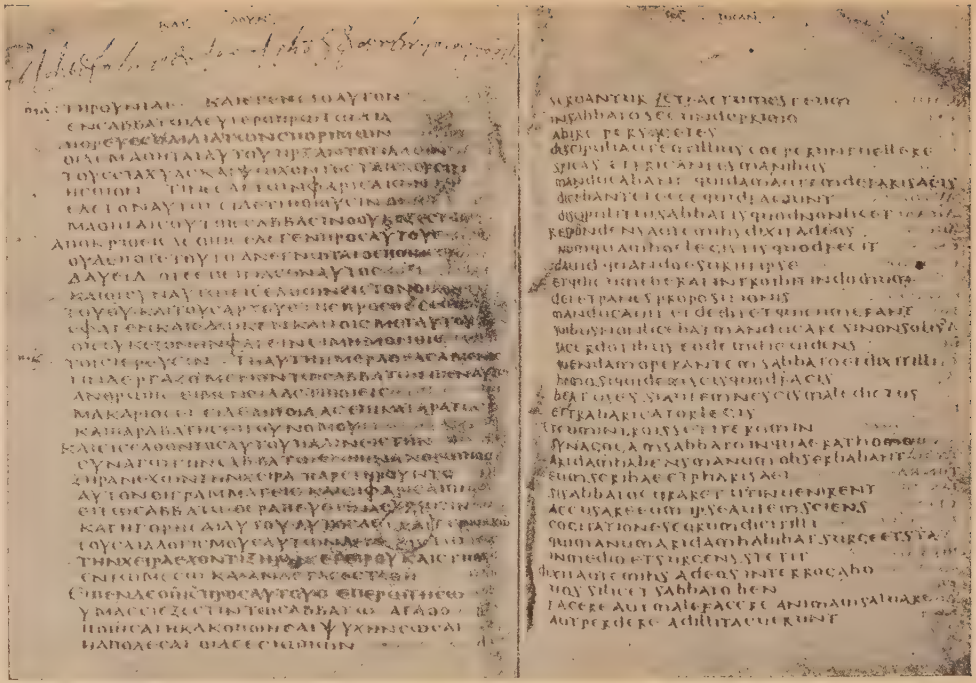
CODEX SINAITICUS—4TH CENT.



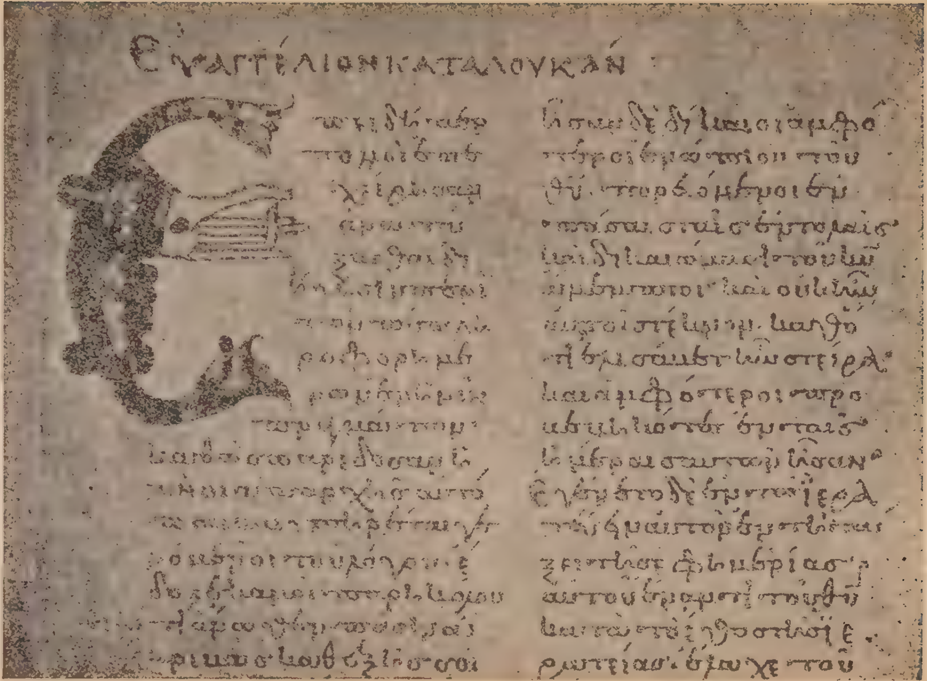
CODEX ALEXANDRINUS—5TH CENT.



Codex Ephræmi—5th Cent.

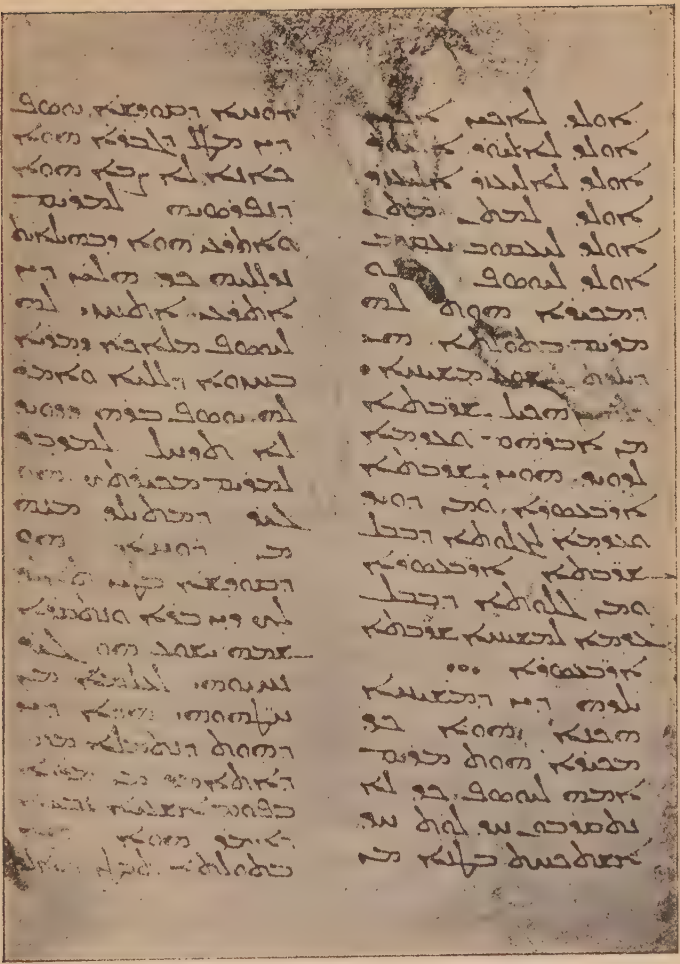


CODEX BEZÆ—6TH CENT.

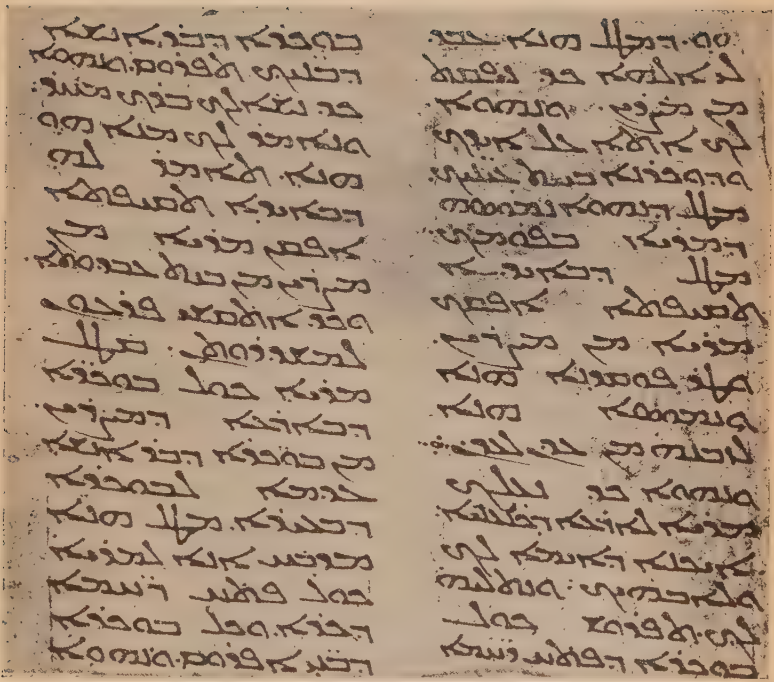


ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΛΟΥΚΑΝ

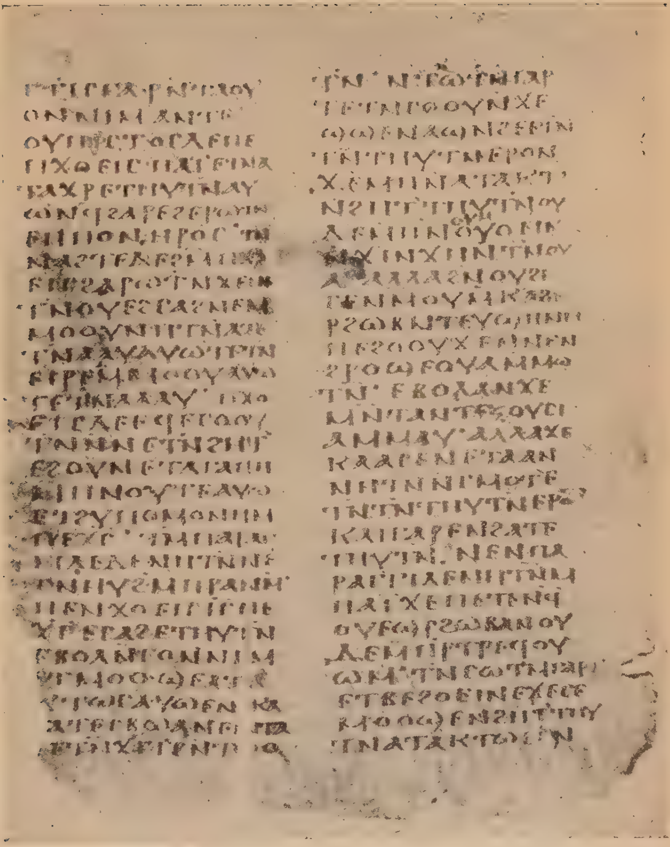
CURSIVE GREEK MS.—A.D. 1022.



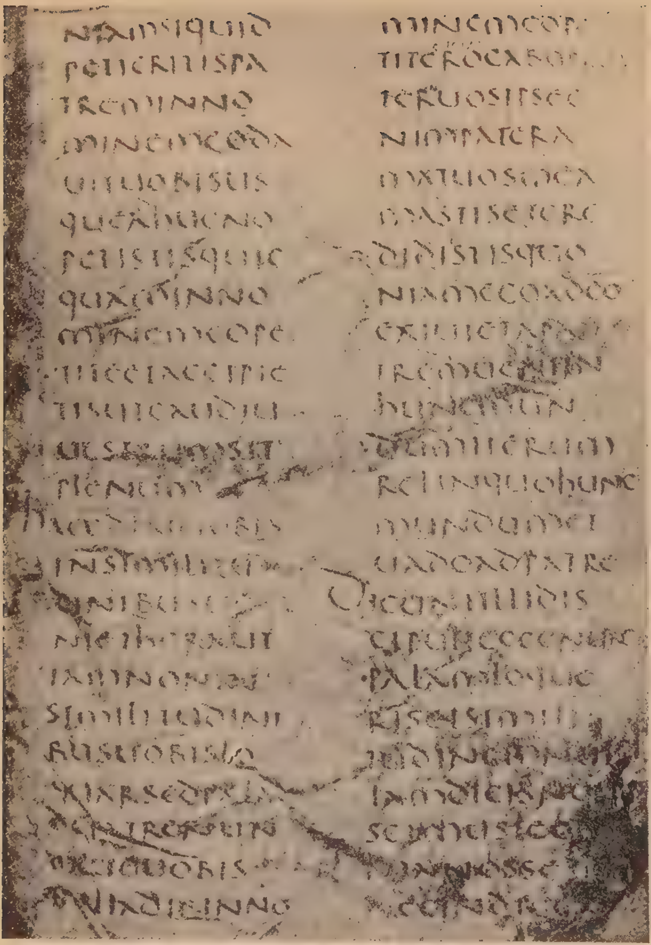
CURETONIAN SYRIAC MS.—5TH CENT.



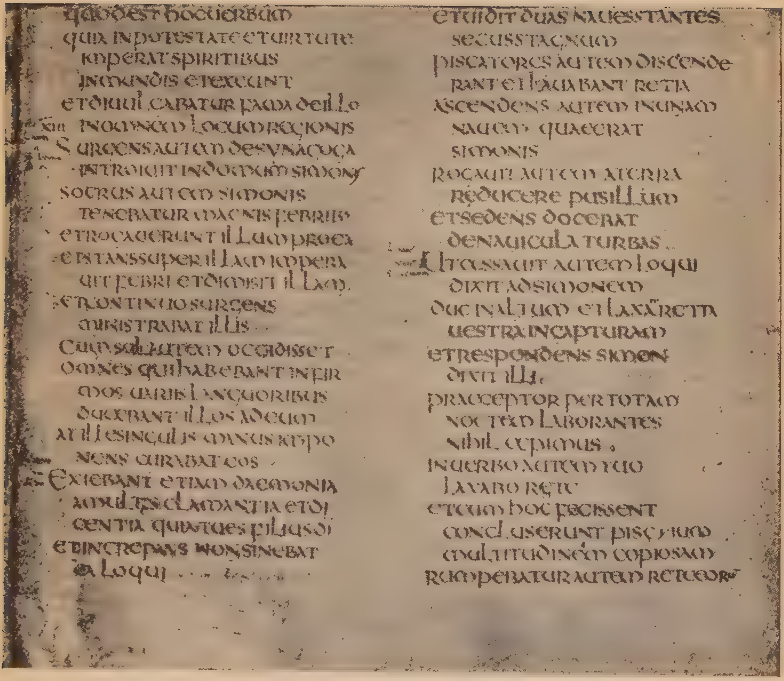
PESHITTO SYRIAC MS.—A.D. 464.



Sahidic MS.—5th Cent. (?)



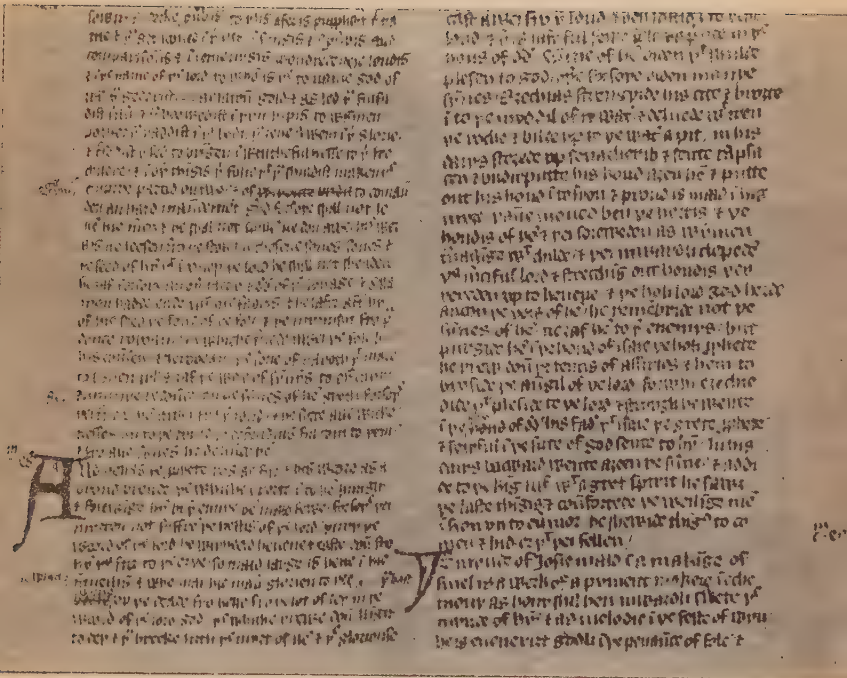
Codex Vercellensis (Old Latin)—4th Cent.



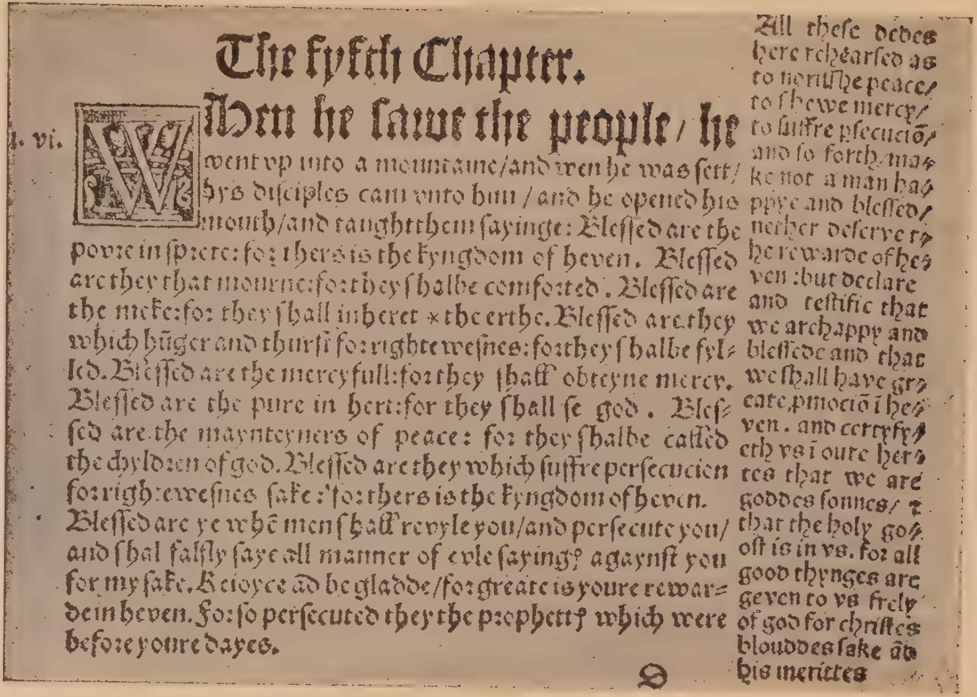
QUOD EST HOC UERBUM
QUIA IN POTESTATE ET UIRTUTE
IMPERAT SPIRITIBUS
INMUNDIS ET EXEUNT
ET DIUULGABATUR FAMA DE ILLO
XIII IN OMNEM LOCUM REGIONIS
SURGENS AUTEM DE SYNAGOGA
INTROIUIT IN DOMUM SIMONIS
SOCRUS AUTEM SIMONIS
TENEBATUR MAGNIS FEBRIBUS
ET ROGAUERUNT ILLUM PRO EA
ET STANS SUPER ILLAM IMPERA
UIT FEBRI ET DIMISIT ILLAM.
ET CONTINUO SURGENS
MINISTRABAT ILLIS
CUM SOL AUTEM OCCIDISSET
OMNES QUI HABEBANT INFIR
MOS UARIIS LANGUORIBUS
DUCEBANT ILLOS AD EUM
AT ILLE SINGULIS MANUS INPO
NENS CURABAT EOS
EXIEBANT ETIAM DAEMONIA
A MULTIS CLAMANTIA ET DI
CENTIA QUIA TU ES FILIUS DI
ET INCREPANS NON SINEBAT
EA LOQUI

ET UIDIT DUAS NAUES STANTES
SECUS STAGNUM
PISCATORES AUTEM DESCENDE
RANT ET LAUABANT RETIA
ASCENDENS AUTEM IN UNAM
NAUEM QUAE ERAT
SIMONIS
ROGAUIT AUTEM A TERRA
REDUCERE PUSILLUM
ET SEDENS DOCEBAT
DE NAUICULA TURBAS
UT CESSAUIT AUTEM LOQUI
DIXIT AD SIMONEM
DUC IN ALTUM ET LAXATE RETIA
UESTRA IN CAPTURAM
ET RESPONDENS SIMON
DIXIT ILLI
PRAECEPTOR PER TOTAM
NOCTEM LABORANTES
NIHIL CEPIMUS
IN UERBO AUTEM TUO
LAXABO RETE
ET CUM HOC FECISSENT
CONCLUSERUNT PISCIUM
MULTITUDINEM COPIOSAM
RUMPEBATUR AUTEM RETE EORUM

Codex Amiatinus (Vulgate)—circ. a.d. 715.



WYCLIFFE'S BIBLE—A.D. 1382.



The fyfth Chapter.

vi. When he ſawe the people / he went vp into a mountayne/and wen he was ſett/ hys diſciples cam vnto him / and he opened his mouth/and taught them ſayinge: Bleſſed are the povre in ſprete: for theirs is the kyngdom of heven. Bleſſed are they that mourne: for they ſhalbe comforted. Bleſſed are the meke: for they ſhall inheret × the erthe. Bleſſed are they which hūger and thurſt for righteweſnes: for they ſhalbe fylled. Bleſſed are the mercyfull: for they ſhall obteyne mercy. Bleſſed are the pure in hert: for they ſhall ſe god. Bleſſed are the maynteyners of peace: for they ſhalbe called the chyldren of god. Bleſſed are they which ſuffre perſecucion for righteweſnes ſake: for theirs is the kyngdom of heven. Bleſſed are ye whē men ſhall revyle you/and perſecute you/ and ſhal falſly ſaye all manner of evle ſayings agaynſt you for my ſake. Reioyce ād be gladde/for greate is youre rewarde in heven. For ſo perſecuted they the prophetts which were before youre dayes.

All theſe dedes here rehearſed as to noriſhe peace/ to ſhewe mercy/ to ſuffre pſecuciō/ and ſo forth/ make not a man happye and bleſſed/ nether deſerve the rewarde of heven: but declare and teſtifie that we are happy and bleſſede and that we ſhall have greate promociō ī heven. and certyfyeth vs ī oure hertes that we are goddes ſonnes/ & that the holy goſt is in vs. for all good thynges are geven to vs frely of god for chriſtes bloudde ſake ād his merittes

S

TYNDALE'S NEW TESTAMENT—A.D. 1525.

Tyndale, 1525.

God in tyme past diversly and many wayes, spake vnto the fathers by prophets: but in these last dayes he hath spoken vnto vs by hys sonne, whom he hath made heyre of all thyngs: by whom also he made the worlde. Which sonne beynge the brightnes of his glory, and very ymage off his substance, bearynge vppe all thyngs with the worde of his power, hath in his awne person pourged oure synnes, and is sytten on the right honde of the maiestie an hye, and is more excellent then the angels in as moche as he hath by inheritaunce obteyned an excellenter name then have they.

For vnto which off the angels sayde he at eny tyme: Thou arte my sonne, this daye begate I the? And agayne: I will be his father, and he shalbe my sonne. And agayne when he bryngeth in the fyrst begotten sonne in the worlde, he sayth: And all the angels of god shall worshippe hym. And vnto the angels he sayth: He maketh his angels spretes, and his ministers flammes of fyre. But vnto the sonne he sayth: God thy seate shal be for ever and ever. The cepter of thy kyngdom is a right cepter. Thou hast loved rightewesnes and hated iniquitie: Wherfore hath god, which is thy god, anoynted the with the oyle off gladnes above thy felowes.

Coverdale, 1535.

God in tyme past dyuersly and many wayes, spake vnto y^e fathers by prophetes, but in these last dayes he hath spoken vnto vs by his sonne, whom he hath made heyre of all thinges, by whom also he made the worlde. Which (sonne) beynge the brightnes of his glory, and the very ymage of his substaunce, bearinge vp all thinges with the worde of his power, hath in his owne personne pourged oure synnes, and is set on the righte hande of the maiestie on hye: beynge even as moch more excellent then y^e angels, as he hath optayned a more excellent name then they.

For vnto which of the angels sayde he at eny tyme: Thou art my sonne, this daye have I begotten the? And agayne: I will be his father, and he shalbe my sonne: and agayne, whan he bryngeth in the fyrst begotten sonne in to the worlde, he sayeth: And all the angels of God shal worshippe him. And of the angels he sayeth: He maketh his angels spretes, and his mynisters flammes of fyre. But vnto y^e sonne he sayeth: God, y^t seate endureth for ever and ever: the cepter of y^t kyngdom is a right cepter. Thou hast loved righteousnes, and hated iniquyte: wherfore God (which is thy God) hath anoynted the with the oyle of gladnesse above y^t felowes.

Matthew, 1537.

God in tyme past dyuersly and many wayes, spake vnto the fathers by y^e Prophetes but in these last dayes he hath spoken vnto vs by hys sonne, whom he hath made heyre of all thinges: by whom also he made y^e worlde. Which sonne beynge the brightnes of his glory, and very ymage of hys substance, bearynge vp all thynges wyth the worde of hys power, hath in hys awne person purged oure synnes, and is sytten on the righte hande of the maiestye on hye, and is more excellent then the angels, in as moche as he hath by inherytaunce obteyned an excellenter name then haue they.

For vnto whych of the angels sayde he at eny tyme: Thou arte my sonne, this daye begate I the? And agayne: I will be his father, and he shalbe my sonne. And agayne when he bringeth in the fyrst begotten sonne into the worlde, he sayth: And all the angels of God shall worshyppe hym. And of the angels he sayth: He maketh hys angels spretes, and hys ministres flammes of fyre. But vnto y^e sonne he sayth: God, thy seate shalbe for ever and ever. The scepter of thy kyngdome is a ryght scepter. Thou hast loved ryghtewesnes and hated iniquyte. Wherefore God whych is thy God, hath anoynted the with the oyle of gladnes aboue thy felowes.

Great Bible (Cromwell's), 1539.

God in tyme past diuersly and many ways, spake vnto the fathers by Prophetes: but in these last dayes he hath spoken vnto vs by hys awne sonne, whom he hath made heyre of all thinges, by whom also he made the worlde. Whych (sonne) beinge the brightnes of hys glory, and the very ymage of hys substance rulynge all thynges wyth the worde of hys power, hath by hys awne person pourged oure synnes, and sytteth on the righte hande of the maiestye on hye: beynge so moch more excellent then the angels, as he hath by inherytaunce obteyned a more excellent name then they.

For vnto whych of the angels sayde he at eny tyme: Thou art my sonne, this daye have I begotten the? And agayne: I will be his father, and he shalbe my sonne. And agayne, when he bringeth in the fyrst begotten sonne into the worlde, he sayth. And let all the angels of God worshyppe hym. And vnto the angels he sayth: He maketh hys angels spretes, and hys ministres a flamme of fyre. But vnto the sonne he sayth: Thy seate (O God) shalbe for ever and ever. The scepter of thy kingdome is a ryght scepter. Thou hast loved ryghtewesnes, and hated iniquyte. Wherfore, God, even thy God hath anoynted the with the oyle of gladnes aboue thy felowes.

The Geneva Bible, 1560.

1. At sondrie times and in diuers maners God spake in y^e olde time to *our* fathers by the Prophetes:

2. In these last dayes he hathe spoken vnto us by his Sonne, whome he hathe made heir of all things, by whome also he made the worldes,

3. Who being the brightnes of the glorie, and the ingraued forme of his persone, and bearing vp all things by his mightie worde, hath by him self purged our sinnes, and sitteth at the right hand of the maiestie in the highest places,

4. And is made so much more excellent then the Angels in as muche as he hathe obteined a more excellent name then thei.

5. For vnto which of the Angels said he at anie time, Thou art my Sonne, this day begate I thee? and againe, I wil be his Father, and he shalbe my sonne?

6. And againe when he bringeth in *his* first begotten Sonne into the worlde, he saith, And let all the Angels of God worship him.

7. And of the Angels he saith, He maketh the Spirits his messengers, and his ministers a flame of fyre.

8. But vnto the Sonne *he saith,* O God, thy throne *is* for euer and euer: the scepter of thy kingdome *is* a scepter of righteousnes.

9. Thou hast loued righteousnes and hated iniquitie. Wherefore God, *euen* thy God, hathe anointed thee with y^e oyle of gladnes aboue thy fellowes.

The Bishops' Bible, 1568.

1. God which in tyme past, at sundrie tymes, and in diuers maners, spake vnto the fathers in the prophetes:

2. Hath in these last dayes, spoken vnto vs in the sonne, whom he hath appoynted heyre of all thynges, by whom also he made the worldes.

3. Who beyng the bryghtnesse of the glorie, and the very image of his substaunce, vpholdyng all thynges with the worde of his power, hauing by himselfe pourged our sinnes, hath syt on the ryght hande of the maiestie on hye:

4. Beyng so much more excellent then the Angels, as he hath by inheritaunce obtayned a more excellent name then they.

5. For vnto which of the Angels sayde he at any tyme: Thou art my sonne, this day haue I begotten thee?

6. And agayne, I wyll be to hym a father, and he shalbe to me a sonne? and agayne, when he bryngeth in the first begotten sonne into the worlde, he saith: And let all the Angels of God worship hym.

7. And vnto the Angels he sayth: He maketh his Angels spirites, and his ministers a flambe of fyre.

8. But vnto the sonne [he sayth] Thy seate O God [shalbe] for euer and euer: The scepter of thy kingdome [is] a scepter of ryghteousnesse.

9. Thou hast loued ryghteousnesse, and hated iniquitie: Therfore God, euen thy God, hath annoynted thee with the oyle of gladnesse, aboue thy felowes.

The Rheims New Testament, 1582.

1 Diversely and many vvaies in times past God speaking to the fathers in the pro-
2 phets; last of al in these daies hath spoken to vs in his Sonne, vvhome he hath appointed heire of al, by vvhome he made also the vvorldes.
3 VVho being the brightnesse of his glorie, and the figure of his substaunce, and carying al things by the vvord of his povver, making purgation of sinnes, sitteth on the right hand of the Maiestie in the high places:
4 being made so much better then Angels, as he hath inherited a more excellent name aboue them.

5 For to vvhich of the Angels hath he said at any time, *Thou art my sonne, to day haue I begotten thee?* and againe, *I vvil be to him a father, and he shal be to me a*
6 *sonne.* And vvhen againe he bringeth in the first begotten into the vvorld, he saith, *And let al the Angels of God adore*
7 *him.* And to the Angels truely he saith, *He that maketh his Angels, spirites: and his ministers, a*
8 *flame of fyre.* But to the Sonne: *Thy throne ô God for euer and euer: a rod of equitie, the rod of*
9 *thy kingdom. Thou hast loued iustice, and hated iniquitie: therfore thee, God, thy God hath anointed vvith the oile of exultation aboue thy fellovves.*

The Authorised Version, 1611.

1 God who at sundry times, and in diuers manners, spake in time past vnto the Fathers by the Prophets,

2 Hath in these last dayes spoken vnto vs by *his* Sonne, whom he hath appointed heire of all things, by whom also he made the worlds,

3 Who being the brightnesse of his glory, and the expresse image of his person, and vpholding all things by the word of his power, when hee had by himselfe purged our sinnes, sate down on y^e right hand of the Maiestie on high,

4 Being made so much better then the Angels, as hee hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent Name then they.

5 For vnto which of the Angels said he at any time, Thou art my sonne, this day haue I begotten thee? And again, I will be to him a Father, and he shall be to me a Sonne.

6 And again, when he bringeth in the first begotten into the world, hee saith, And let all the Angels of God worship him.

7 And of the Angels he saith: Who maketh his Angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire.

8 But vnto the Sonne, *he saith,* Thy throne, O God, *is* for euer and euer: a scepter of righteousnesse *is* the scepter of thy kingdome.

9 Thou hast loued righteousnesse, and hated iniquitie, therefore God, *euen* thy God hath anointed thee with the oyle of gladnesse aboue thy fellowes.

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